A History Of Whitby And Streoneshalh Abbey V1: With A Statistical Survey Of The Vicinity To The Distance Of Twenty-Five Miles (1817)

George Young

A

HISTORY

OF

WHITBY,

AND

STREONESHALH ABBEY:

WITH A

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE VICINITY

TO THE

Distance of Twenty-five Miles:

BY THE REV. GEORGE YOUNG,

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SOME PAPERS LEFT BY THE LATE MR. R. WINTER, AND SOME MATERIALS FURNISHED BY MR. J. BIRD.

RIVAULX ABBEY.

VOL. I.

Whitby:

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PREFACE.

THE advantages of local history are generally acknowledged. Correct views of a country are not to be gained from the hasty remarks of the tourist, who skims over its surface in a few days; but from the patient researches and mature observations of local writers, each of whom, devoting his attention to objects within his reach, and collecting what is interesting in his own vicinity, furnishes his quota to the common fund of statistical knowledge. In general, topographical works will be more or less correct, in proportion as the field of view is contracted or enlarged: and he who attempts to take in too much, endangers the whole. What is gained in extent, is lost in accuracy. The fore-ground of the landscape is distinctly perceived, while the distant objects are involved in shades.

To serve the interests of science, the subject of a local history should be judiciously chosen, as well as patiently investigated: the place, or district, must afford an adequate proportion of interesting materials; and the central point, on which they are made to bear, must possess sufficient respectability to entitle it to that distinction. In these respects, few places present a more legitimate subject for the pen of the topographer, than WHITBY AND THE VICINITY. The vestiges of ancient British towns and sepulchres, forts and intrenchments, found in this district; the remains of Roman camps, roads, and stations, which it exhibits; its connexion with the affairs of the Roman provinces and Saxon kingdoms, a connexion which may be found in this work to be more intimate than has hitherto been supposed; its singular natural productions; the early fame of the abbey of STREONESHALH, as a seat of religion and learning; the splendour of WHITBY abbey that succeeded it, after the conquest; the number and respectability of the other religious houses in the district; the antiquity of Whitby as a town and port; the rapid progress of its commerce and manufactures, and vast increase of its wealth and population, in modern times; with its importance as the chief town

of Whitby-Strand;—all concur in pointing out this town and neighbourhood as a fit subject for historical research.

Charlton's work, the only History of Whitby yet published, has become scarce; and, from the injudicious mode in which that laborious author disposed of his valuable materials, it has never been popular. Besides, several important topics, connected with Whitby or the neighbourhood, are either wholly omitted in his work, or very slightly noticed; and, during the forty years that have elapsed since his book was written, many remarkable changes have occurred, valuable improvements have been introduced, and interesting antiquities have been brought to light. For these reasons, a new History of Whitby and the vicinity has long been a *desideratum*. So early as the year 1792, the late Fras. Gibson, Esq. F. S. A. attempted the task; but, after preparing seven or eight sheets for the press, and providing a number of drawings, he relinquished the undertaking.

To meet the wishes of the public, the present work was begun by the late Mr. Richard Winter. He collected, with great labour, a considerable stock of materials; issued a prospectus of the intended publication, for which subscriptions were received; wrote a number of detached pieces, chiefly introductory, on various topics proposed for investigation; and prepared for the press twenty-one pages of a General History. Thus far he had advanced, when death, which often blasts the fairest prospects, and cuts short the noblest enterprises, put a period to his arduous labours.

Previous to this mournful event, I had been solicited to correct the sheets of the intended publication; and, in compliance with the wishes of many of the subscribers, I undertook, with the assistance of my friend Mr. Bird, to continue and complete the work; not only that the public might not be disappointed, but especially, that the labours of Mr. Winter, labours which had at least accelerated his premature death, might not be altogether lost to his widow and family.

In entering on this undertaking, I was not duly aware of its magnitude. I expected that what Mr. Winter had written and collected might, with a few alterations, compose a considerable portion of the work; but, on a close examination of the materials provided, I found myself mistaken. Not one article was finished; no plan was laid down, further than the general list of topics announced in the

prospectus; even the small part that was prepared for the press could not meet the public eye without undergoing great modifications, a circumstance not surprising, as it was written amidst the langnor of a wasting disease. In short, the whole work was to begin anew; or rather, as it was proper to introduce some specimens of Mr. Winter's composition, the task was more arduous, and less pleasant, than if nothing had been done. The portions written by Mr. Winter will be found, enclosed in *brackets*, in pages 7—10, 18, 19, 25—29, 33, 38—46: the notes that are his have a *W* annexed to them.

Setting out with a resolution, not to be satisfied with the testimony of others on subjects within my own reach, and not to rely on secondary authorities where there was access to originals, I soon found, in investigating the topics to be discussed, that numerous mistakes had been committed by historians, both ancient and modern, in their accounts of Whitby and the vicinity. In correcting these mistakes, the work may seem to assume a censorious air; but the candid reader, it is hoped, will impute this to the nature of the subject, rather than to the spirit of the author. When he found it in his power to elucidate some points of history, involved in obscurity or error, he could not have been justified in neglecting the opportunity.

In a work comprising such a multiplicity of topics, connected with various sciences and arts, the assistance of friends was essentially necessary: and the author did not embark in the undertaking, till he had engaged the friendly co-operation of Mr. Bird, whose intimate acquaintance with the district, particularly with its antiquities and natural history, rendered him a valuable coadjutor. To his services the work is much indebted; the materials which he has supplied have been useful in a variety of departments; especially in the article MINERALOGY, a great part of which is copied almost verbatim from his manuscript. He has ably assisted me in exploring a region, of which his pencil has often delineated the beauties, and copied the antiquities. Yet I must not omit to mention, that, in our excursions through the district, several gentlemen have taken a part; particularly Dr. Wm. Campbell and John Holt, Junr. Esq., whose friendly aid, in various forms, deserves to be gratefully noticed. Dr. Campbell's superior knowledge of botany, mineralogy, and other sciences, has enabled him to become an eminent contributor to the work.

It is a pleasing duty, to record the liberal assistance, and polite attentions, received from the ladies and gentlemen, to whom I have had occasion to apply for the use of ancient records, scarce books, and other valuable documents. Many of the debts of this description are acknowledged in the notes; but I cannot forbear expressing, in this place, my strong obligations to Mrs. Cholmley, Lady of the manor of Whitby, and her esteemed family, in whose possession the records of our abbey are carefully preserved; to Lady Johnstone, of Hackness; to the Rt. Hon. Earl Mulgrave; to Sir Cuthbert Sharp, F.S.A. author of the History of Hartlepool; to George Allan, Esq. M.A., F.S.A., M.P; to Robert Chaloner, Esq. M.P., in whose possession are several charters and records relating to the priory of Guisborough; to the Rev. Fras. Wrangham, A.M., F.R.S., Rector of Hunmanby; to Anth. Thorpe, of York, Esq.; to Jn. Caley, Esq. of the Augmentation Office; to the Rev. Mr. Dallin, Librarian to the Minster Library, York; to A. Manners, Esq. Librarian to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; to the Very Rev. the Dean and Chapter of Rochester; to Mr. W. Bearcroft, of Kirkby Moorside; to J. Ridley, Esq. Fyling; to Mr. Jas. Bathgate, of Lofthouse; to Mr. Jn. Jones, of Kirkleatham; to J. W. Sanders, Esq., Newcastle; to Sol. Chapman, Esq., Sunderland; to Jn. Sowerby, Esq., Lyth; to Jn. Harrison, Esq., and Hen. Clark, Esq., Guisborough; and to Thos. Hinderwell, Esq., author of the History of Scarborough, whose friendly communications have been numerous and important, and from whose valuable work, as well as from the Rev. John Graves's History of Cleveland, I have derived much information. To this list, long as it is, great additions might be made; particularly from among the gentlemen of Whitby, to whom my debts of gratitude are far too numerous to be particularised. The ministers of religion, and others connected with public institutions; the gentlemen employed in the different departments of the revenue; the gentlemen engaged in manufactures, commerce, or business; and the respectable inhabitants in general, have all been ready to lend their aid in forwarding the work. Perhaps it would be unjust, not to name the Rev. Jas. Andrew, Jn. Chapman, Esq., Hen. Simpson, Esq., Thomas Fishburn, Esq., Henry Walker, Esq., Richd. Moorsom, Junr. Esq., Thos. Peirson, Esq., Rob. Campion, Esq., Mr. Thos. Parkin, Mr. Wm. Scoresby, Junr., and Lieut. T. Linklater, R.N.; to all of whom, with many others, the author is under peculiar obligations.

For its numerous and interesting embellishments, the work is indebted to the pencil of Mr. Bird, and the skill of various engravers. Some of the plates are etchings by Mr. Bird himself. To the expense of the portrait of CAPT. COOK, a gentleman in Whitby contributed *five guineas*, from respect to the memory of our illustrious navigator. The MAP and PLAN have been constructed by the author and his friend, with great labour; yet, partly by their own oversight, and partly by that of the engravers, a few inaccuracies have occurred.

The printers, as well as the author, have bestowed much pains on the correction of the sheets; but no work of such extent is wholly free from typographical errors. Mistakes of another kind are also too frequent. Most of these will be found corrected in the notes on subsequent sheets; in which form, not only corrections, but supplements, are often introduced. Such blemishes are chiefly owing to this circumstance, that in order to save time, the different portions of the work were printed in succession, immediately after they were composed. The first part of a chapter, and even of a sheet, was gone to the press, before the last part was written; so that the author, having the printer close at his heels, was unable to avail himself of any new light which might be thrown, during his progress, on subjects previously discussed; except in the way of supplementary notes. This mode of proceeding has been productive of other evils: the latter part of the history is much compressed, while the former is perhaps too diffuse; and the work has swelled to *more than double the size originally intended:* in consequence of which, the printing of it, which was not expected to occupy more than a year, has required upwards of two years and a half; two volumes have been produced instead of one; and an advance on the price proposed to the early subscribers has been rendered unavoidable; though this advance is very far from being proportionate to the increase of the book, or even of its embellishments. If it be asked, Why then was this injudicious plan adopted? Why was not the whole prepared, before any portion was printed? My answer is, that, had the latter method been pursued, the work, instead of being now published, would probably not have been ready for the press for several months to come, and the publication must have been delayed at least two years longer; in which case, one of its principal ends, the relief of Mr. Winter's family, might have been in a great measure defeated.

With all its blemishes, the history will perhaps be found to contain a greater proportion of original and interesting matter than is usually met with in topographical works; and the whole is arranged in the order that appeared the most natural and perspicuous. Grateful to that Providence, by whose kindness he has been spared to finish the work begun by another, the author must not complain, that he has not been permitted to polish and improve it to the utmost of his wishes. Let it suffice, that he has thrown some additional light on the history, antiquities, and present state, of an interesting portion of his country. He has corrected the mistakes of his predecessors; and, if he shall have no opportunity to correct his own in a *second edition*, others will arise to correct them when he is gone.

It has been my uniform study, in composing this work, to render it at once agreeable and useful. How far I have succeeded, the public must determine. That every part should be acceptable to all, is next to impossible; but, when the reader meets with articles which he deems unworthy of perusal, let him recollect, that there are other readers to whom the same articles may appear of the greatest moment. On subjects that interest the passions of men, every unworthy prejudice has been avoided; yet I make no pretensions to that spurious candour which consists in a criminal indifference to what is good: I own my partiality for true religion. A few readers, I hope only a few, may find fault with the moral reflexions occasionally introduced: but, instead of wishing them expunged, I have more cause to be ashamed of introducing them so sparingly. In addressing beings possessed of immortal souls, is it an intrusion, to aim at the improvement of their nobler part, when the subject naturally leads to it? The very situation in which I now stand seems to proclaim the vanity of time, and the vast importance of eternity. The history sent forth records the deeds of generations that have passed away; the hand that began it is mingled with the dust; not a few who hoped to peruse it, belong no more to the lists of the living; and the time approaches when the writer, and the reader too, must bid adieu to the present world. When that era arrives, I may perhaps regret that I devoted so much attention to subjects comparatively trivial; but I shall never regret having dropt some hints to promote the best interests of mankind.

GEORGE YOUNG.

Whitby, October 25, 1817.

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HISTORY OF WHITBY &c.

BOOK I.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE DISTRICT.

CHAP. I.

Original Inhabitants.—Roman Period.

WHO were the first inhabitants of this District, or of any other part of Britain, it would be fruitless to inquire. The origin of most nations and states is lost in the ages of oblivion, which the eye of the historian is unable to penetrate. To supply this defect, almost every nation has its popular fables, in which its descent is traced to some of the gods or heroes of antiquity, or at least to some people renowned in the history of the world. In such productions of national vanity Britain has had an ample share. The most remarkable which it has produced or adopted are the fictions which were published in the reign of Henry II

by Geoffrey Ap Arthur of Monmouth. In his history of Britain which he translated, or rather pretended to translate, from an ancient work in the British language, we are told that the Britons, like the Romans, sprung from the warlike Trojans, and have derived their name and the name of their country, from Brutus, a great grandson of the celebrated Æneas. This imaginary hero, according to Geoffrey, having at his birth occasioned the death of his mother, and having accidentally slain his father when he was grown up, felt unhappy in his native abode in Italy, and having gone over into Greece, and collected a number of the Trojans whom the Greeks had taken captive at the destruction of Troy, he put himself at their head, effected their liberty, and embarked with them in a fleet in quest of new settlements. After a variety of wonderful adventures, partly in the Mediterranean, and partly in Aquitain in Gaul, Brutus and his surviving followers arrived in Britain, to which they had been directed by an oracle. They landed at Totness, it is said, 66 years after the fall of Troy, and 1108 years before the Christian Æra. The Island was then inhabited by giants, who, it seems, were the *aborigines* of the country; but Gogmagog their chief being slain by Corinæus a bold Trojan, who threw him over the cliffs of Dover, the whole of the gigantic race was soon exterminated! Brutus therefore became the monarch of the island, his followers soon increased into a powerful nation, and he commanded them to be called by his name. He did not however denominate them *Brutes*, as might be

expected; but gave them the more honourable designation of Britons. A little before his death, he divided his kingdom among his three sons; assigning England to *Locrine*, Wales to *Camber*, and Scotland to *Albanact!* A great-grandson of Locrine, named Ebrancke, or Ebrauc, founded the city of York, 983 years before Christ; and from him it was named Caer-ebrauc, which name was afterwards changed into Eboracum.

Such are some of the legendary tales which fancy has invented to supply the place of a portion of history irrecoverably lost; and, though absurdity is written on them as with a sun-beam, though they were pronounced fictions by writers co-temporary with Geoffrey their author,* yet such is the eagerness of mankind for knowledge that is beyond their reach, such their love for the marvellous, and such their fondness for whatever is flattering to their vanity, that these tales have been greedily swallowed by thousands, and have had some among the learned to maintain their authenticity even so late as the last century.

At whatever period the British Islands were peopled, there can be little doubt that the first inhabitants came from the shores of the neighbouring continent: but whether they came hither by accident, or design; whether they were the survivors of some shipwreck, or refugees who had fled from their enemies on the continent, or adventurers who arrived in quest of new settlements, it is impossible to determine.

* See Camden's Britannia (Gough's Edition) Vol. I. page v. Sammes's Britannia Antiqua, page 158, 159.

If we except the imperfect notices of the trade carried on with Britain by the Phœnicians and Greeks, the earliest authentic accounts of this island are those which we find in Cæsar's Commentaries. From his observations, viewed in connexion with the later and more accurate details of Tacitus and other Roman historians, we learn, that when the Romans invaded our country, they found it possessed by a numerous and warlike people, greatly resembling the inhabitants of Gaul, in their persons and habits, their language and manners, their religion and government. Like the Gauls, they were divided into numerous petty tribes,* each under its own independent chief, often at war with one another, and rarely acting in concert; a circumstance highly favourable to the ambitious views of the invaders.† They were not in the rudest state of barbarism; but were acquainted with agriculture, commerce, and several of the useful arts. They knew the use of metals and of money, they had houses and clothing; they had war chariots which they managed with great dexterity, and fortresses which they constructed with art and defended with skill. Some remains of their fortifications, evidently of high antiquity, are found, as will be afterwards noticed, in this district. The tribes in the interior were the least civilized, having no clothing but skins, and living chiefly on

* No less than 38 existed in Britain, and some of them were subdivided into smaller Clans. Henry's History of Britain, Book i. C. iii.

† Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Tacitus Vita Agric. c. 12.

milk and flesh, neglecting in general the pursuits of agriculture. All the Britons stained their bodies with a blue colour, which made their appearance the more frightful to their enemies; an effect which would doubtless be increased by the length of their hair, and by the roughness of their upper lips, which they never shaved.* Cæsar and Dion Cassius both assert that they had their wives in common, or at least that every ten or twelve of them had such a community; but these assertions are scarcely consistent with facts that are recorded by other historians, particularly the indignation expressed by the Brigantes when their queen Cartismandua proved an adulteress.†

It is probable that most of these tribes had inhabited Britain for many ages before the arrival of Cæsar; and that, however divided and subdivided, they were all of one race, and spake one language, though in different dialects. The people denominated the *Celts* appear to have then occupied the whole of the British islands, and the western part of the continent of Europe. The remains of that people, and of their language, still exist in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in the west of Ireland. It is scarcely possible to read Cæsar's Commentaries, and other Roman histories relating to Gaul and Britain, without being struck with the resemblance between the names of the tribes, cities, princes, &c. in the one

* Cæsar de Bello Gall. Lib. IV. c. 33. Lib. V. c. 12, 14, &c. Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 11, 12.

† Tacit. Histor. Lib. III. c. 45.

country and in the other. In both there were Belgæ, Parisii, and Atrebates or Atrebatii; in each there was a town called Bibrax; Gaul had its Uxellodunum, Noviodunum, Melodunum, &c. Britain its Axelodunum Maridunum, Cambodunum, &c. And it is observable, that as a part of the compound name of the Gaulish town Vellaunodunum is found in the name of the British chief Cassivellaunus, so a part of the name of the British town Camulodunum is found in the name of the Gaulish chief Camulogenus. Indeed the identity of the language of ancient Gaul with the ancient British language, one dialect of which is still called Gaelic, can scarcely be disputed.* That this was once the language spoken throughout the British islands, may be inferred, not only from the well known fact that tribes of the same name were found in South Britain, North Britain, and Ireland, but from the very frequent recurrence of the same names of hills, promontories, rivers, &c. in each of these parts of the British Empire.† The name of the river at Whitby, the Esk, which in the British language signifies *water* or *river*, affords a noted example; there being three rivers of that name in England, five in Scotland, and two or three in Ireland.

Among the tribes who inhabited Britain, the Brigantes held a distinguished rank. They occupied the middle part of the island, and their territories extended from sea to sea; comprehending the greater

* See numerous proofs in Camden's Britannia Vol. I. p. xii.—xvi.

† See a multitude of instances in Chalmers's Caledonia, B. I. c. i.

part of Yorkshire and Durham on the east coast, and Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland on the west. As their kingdom included the district which is the chief subject of this work, their history demands a share in our attention.

[The introduction of the Roman legions into Britain forms a memorable epocha in its history. It appears that the Brigantes had been compelled to accept conditions, if not completely subdued, by Aulius Plautius, the Roman general in Britain during the reign of Claudius; as we find them endeavouring to break the chains of bondage about the year 50 of the Christian Æra. They paid dear for this ill fated revolt: Publius Ostorius Scapula at that time proprætor in Britain, marched his forces into the province. The Brigantes were soon reduced to subjection, the most active of the revolters were cut to pieces, and a free pardon was granted to the rest.* Nevertheless they were allowed to retain the regal authority in their own hands, as we find Cartismandua the reigning queen immediately afterwards delivering up in chains to the Roman power, the renowned patriot Caractacus, who had taken refuge in her dominions after his defeat by Ostorius. Such however was the spirit of liberty which prevailed through the island, that the time employed by the Romans for the reduction of one state was embraced by another as a fit opportunity for revolt. Thus harassed and perplexed, Ostorius sunk under the fatigues of an endless campaign, and expired in disappointment and anxiety.

* Tacit. Annal. Lib. XII. c. 32.

Not long after, the state of the Brigantes was thrown into the utmost confusion by the detestable conduct of Cartismandua. She had formed a matrimonial connection with Venusius, a chief of the Jugantes, possessed of acknowledged valour and military experience; but the union was inauspicious for the nation. Cartismandua proved unfaithful to her husband, and made Vellocatus, her armour-bearer, the partner of her bed and of her throne. The injured Venusius resolved to be revenged, and his cause was warmly espoused by the bulk of his subjects; while some continued to support Cartismandua. The embers of civil discord were spread with activity through the state, and the partizans of the queen having seized upon the brother and relatives of Venusius, this act of oppression heightened the animosity of the people. A nation of heroes disdained to submit to an infamous woman, who had betrayed the liberties of her country, and stained the throne of Brigantia with her crimes. She was attacked and overthrown in the centre of her dominions;] and though her allies, the Romans, espoused her cause, and a legion was sent for her support under the command of Cesius Nasica, Venusius seconded by the ardour of his people, was finally triumphant. The adulteress escaped with her life, but lost her crown: the Brigantes headed by the warlike Venusius asserted their independence; and the proprætor Aulus Didius, infirm with age, and incumbered with other wars, was unable to reduce them to subjection.*

* Tacit. Annal. Lib. XII. c. 40. Hist. Lib. III. c. 45.

After this period the Roman forces appear to have made no attempt to recover Brigantia until the reign of the emperor Vespasian. About the year 70, Petilius Cerialis was appointed by that emperor to the command of the legions in Britain. The affairs of the province had for some time before been feebly conducted; but no sooner did Cerialis assume the government than he began to act with vigour and resolution. He fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes, in point of numbers the most considerable state in Britain. Various battles were fought with alternate success, and great effusion of blood. At length the greatest part of the country was either subdued, or ravaged.

Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerialis. Historians represent him as an able warrior and consummate general. His military fame was acquired, chiefly in reducing the Silures to subjection.*

The honour of finally conquering the Brigantes was reserved for the genius of Agricola, who was appointed to the government of Britain, A. D. 78. He had acquired the rudiments of the military art, under the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus in Britain, where he afterwards distinguished himself as commander of the XXth legion, under Bolanus and Cerialis. He was therefore completely acquainted with the island and its inhabitants, a circumstance which greatly conduced to his success. He explored the woods and forests, marked out proper stations for encampments, and erected a chain of posts along the frontiers of his

* Tacitus Vita Agric. c. 17.

extensive conquests.] He carried the terror of the Roman arms far beyond the country of the Brigantes; he attacked the distant Caledonians amidst their native hills, and had he not been recalled by the jealous tyrant Domitian, he might perhaps have completed the conquest of the island.

From the time of Agricola, the Brigantes appear to have lived quietly under the Roman government, which owing to the excellent regulations introduced by that general had become more mild and tolerable. They are scarcely again mentioned in the Roman history,* and perhaps the name Brigantes might begin to be laid aside, when their country was formed into a Roman province, which was denominated Maxima Cæsariensis. This province, as appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, was on account of its importance, always governed by a person of consular dignity; and it was frequently visited by the emperors themselves. Isurium, or Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, was the ancient capital of this state; but in later times, Eboracum, or York, the head quarters of the VIth legion, held the first rank. Here the emperor Severus died, here most probably Carausius and Allectus, the former of whom reigned in Britain as emperor seven

* Pausanias states, that in the time of the emperor Antoninus Pius, the Brigantes made incursions into Genounia, a region subject to the Romans, for which they were punished by the loss of a great part of their lands. But these people could not be the Brigantes of Yorkshire and Lancashire, (whose country was already included in the Roman dominions,) but some tribe of the same name among the Mæatæ, or in the northern part of the island. There were also Brigantes in the south east parts of Ireland.

years, and the latter three years, in the time of Diocletian, had their royal seat; here Constantius closed his eyes, and his son Constantine the great, who is thought by some to have been a native of Britain, was proclaimed emperor.*

As the Romans possessed this country for about 350 years, we may conclude that under the government of that enlightened people, it could not fail to attain a high degree of civilization and improvement. Agriculture, commerce, and the arts must have flourished; especially as Britain, through its remote situation, often enjoyed a state of tranquillity, while the central parts of the Roman empire were shaken by the most dreadful convulsions. Of the introduction of the useful and elegant arts, and of the refinements of luxury, the Roman remains which have been found in this district and other parts of the island, afford indubitable proofs; and the extent to which agriculture was carried is obvious from the quantities of corn annually exported from Britain, to supply the Roman armies in Gaul and on the frontiers of Germany.† On some occasions, supplies were derived from it to a vast amount; for in the time of Constantius, when the countries bordering on the Rhine had been laid waste by an irruption of the Germans, Julian built a fleet of 800 vessels, which he sent into Britain for corn, to be carried up the Rhine; and the voyage

* Eutrop. Lib. viii, ix, x.

† Horrea quin etiam exstrueret pro incensis, ubi condi posset annona, a Britannis sueta transferri. Amm. Marcell. l. 18. c. 2.

was repeated till enough was procured, both for sowing the fields and supporting the inhabitants until the harvest.* Perhaps our bleak moors, on which we discern so many obvious traces of the plough, might then be in a state of high cultivation; and the yellow corn then waved, where nothing seems now to vegetate but heath and moss. Our cold and naked hills might be graced with fertile fields, sheltered by the woods which skirted their sides, and of which numerous vestiges are found in the mosses and on the moors.

But the riches and luxuries of provincial Britain proved the occasion of its overthrow, for while they tended to enervate the inhabitants, and to extinguish that martial spirit which a long subjection to the Romans had likewise repressed, they presented a tempting bait to their less polished, but more warlike neighbours. The Picts or Caledonians, in North Britain; the Scots who inhabited Ireland, and afterwards settled in the west of Scotland; and the Saxons who dwelt in the north of Germany, tribes that were all much addicted to plunder, cast a longing eye on the fruitful fields and wealthy cities of South Britain, and marked them out as their prey.

At first their predatory attempts were of trivial importance, but by and by they were conducted on a more formidable scale, and it required a considerable force to withstand them. An irruption of the Picts and Scots was made in A. D. 343, when they were

* Zosim. Lib. III.

repulsed by the emperor Constans; and another occurred in A. D. 360, in the reign of Constantius, when Julian, who then commanded in Gaul, dispatched Lupicinus with a force for the defence of Britain.* In the beginning of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, (A. D. 364—367,) Britain was assailed with hosts of plunderers, the Picts, the Scots, the Attacots,† the Saxons, and the Franks; but the skill and bravery of count Theodosius saved it from impending ruin, and even enlarged it by the conquest or recovery of the territory between the walls, which he formed into a distinct province called Valentia.‡ When the usurper Maximus, who began his career in Britain A. D. 381, carried over to the continent most of the legionary troops, with the flower of the British youth, the country was left exposed to the ravages of its enemies; but the emperor Theodosius, when he had conquered Maximus, provided for the security of the Britons, and after his death (in 395) the forces of the celebrated Stilico, who administered the affairs of the western empire, as the guardian of his son Honorius, defeated the Picts, Scots, and Saxons with great slaughter.§ The repose

* Amm. Marcell. Lib. XX. c. 1.

† The Attacots inhabited part of Argyleshire, and of Dumbartonshire. See Chalmers's Caledonia, Book I. c. 2.

‡ Amm. Marcell. Lib. XXVI. c. 4. Lib. XXVII. c. 8.

§ The importance attached by the Romans to the preservation of Britain from its warlike invaders, appears from the following interesting passages of Claudian, which refer chiefly to the victories of count Theodosius and Stilico:

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,

which the Britons derived from these victories, lasted but a few years. Constantine, another usurper, who was elevated to the imperial dignity by the Roman troops, in Britain, (A. D. 408,) having stripped the country once more of the legions and cohorts appointed for its defence, the inroads of its inveterate enemies again commenced. Upon this the Britons, finding themselves deserted by the Romans, took up arms in their own defence, and after many hazardous enterprizes,

Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.
De III Cons. Honor.

Ille, Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medios Libyæ sub casside pertulit æstus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Litoris, ac pariter Boreæ vastator et Austri.
Quid rigor æternus cœli, quid frigora prosunt,
Ignotumque fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades: incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.
De IV Cons. Honor.

Tum sic orsa loqui: Quantum te principe possim,
Non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone Tethys
Mitior, aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.
In Eutropium Lib. I.

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro,
Ferro picta genas, cujus vestigia verrit
Cærulus, Oceanique æstum mentitur amictus,
Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Me juvit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore tuto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.
De Laudibus Stilic. Lib. II.

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.
De Bello Getico.

freed their cities from the barbarians who besieged them.* In this successful warfare, they acted under leaders of their own choosing, having deposed the officers whom Constantine had left to govern them. Yet while they renounced the authority of Constantine, and assumed a temporary independence, it does not appear that they separated themselves wholly from the Roman empire; on the contrary, it would seem that they soon after applied to Honorius for aid, as he wrote letters to them, counselling them to defend themselves,† which we can scarcely suppose him to have done, had they been in a state of rebellion against him. The Britons soon found themselves incompetent to the task which Honorius assigned them, and were compelled to have recourse again to his assistance; but though he sent some forces more than once for their support, it was not in his power to afford them any permanent protection; for the vitals of the empire being now attacked, it became necessary to abandon the extremities.

After the final departure of the Romans, which appears to have taken place near the close of the reign of Honorius, who died A. D. 423, the state of South Britain soon became more deplorable than ever. The walls, which the legions had repaired, proved but a feeble barrier against the ferocious invaders, who spread devastation far and wide, and turned great part of the country into a desert. They were not indeed prompted by a thirst for conquest so much as

* Zosim. Lib. VI. † Id. Ibidem.

by the love of plunder; for they never attempted to form any permanent settlement in South Britain; yet their periodical expeditions were not the less ruinous. The inhabitants who lived nearest the wall fled to the southern parts of the island; and it is highly probable, that during some of these years of disaster, this district, with a great part of the north of England, lay desolate and uninhabited. When the romanized Britons were reduced to the greatest extremities, the plundering hordes having penetrated further and further into the country, they again implored the aid of their ancient protectors; presenting a humble and moving petition to the celebrated Ætius, prefect of Gaul, during his third consulship; (A. D. 446) but that general was too much occupied with other wars to attend to their supplications.* The Britons, however, by their own

* Gildas De Excid. Brit.—Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 12, 13, 14. Ricardi Corin. De situ Brit. Lib. II. c. 1. Gibbon, and his imitator Turner, setting aside the authority of the writers here quoted, have framed according to their fancy, a very different history of the state of *independent* Britain, from A. D. 410 to the arrival of the Saxons in 449. They found their history of this period on a passage in Zosimus, the substance of which is inserted above; and because Gildas has painted the distresses of his country in too strong colours, and has mistaken the repairing of the Roman walls for the building of them, in which he has been followed by Bede, and by Richard of Cirencester, they have presumed to reject his narrative of the miseries of the Britons, and their applications to the Romans, as fabulous. But it is not usual for men to invent fables to the discredit of their country; and Gildas lived so near the times of which he writes, that some who were alive in his early youth might communicate some of the principal facts which he records from their own knowledge. Besides, if he was so grossly ignorant as these learned authors represent him, and if Britain was so long separated from the Roman empire, how could he know that Ætius was thrice consul, or even that such a man as Ætius existed? His authority is nearly as good as that of Zosimus, that heathen bigot, who in some instances perverts the truth through his enmity to the gospel;—a charge from which Gibbon himself is not

efforts, obtained some advantages over their invaders; and this success, combined with their poverty, procured for them an interval of repose. They were not without kings or chiefs, and had they united in a body, they might have banished the enemy from their borders. Their hardships had now taught them courage, as appears from their long and arduous contests with the Saxons, of which some account will be given in the following Chapter.

altogether free. Indeed the facts related by Gildas are only what might have been expected, after what the Roman historians had recorded; for when we read that, in the time of Valentinian, the Picts and other invaders overpowered the Roman forces, slew their generals, and extended their ravages as far as London;* and that it required such efforts at various periods to check their incursions, what could be expected, but that after the departure of the Romans, these warlike tribes would break in like an overwhelming torrent?

* Ammian. Marcell. Lib. XXVII. c. 8.

CHAP. II.

Saxon Period.

[THE Saxons began to make their piratical descents on the British coasts so early as the latter part of the third century: for we find that Carausius distinguished himself by his naval victories, over the fleets of these barbarians;* and in the early part of the reign of Constantine the great, a new officer was appointed in Britain, to guard the coast against their attacks, denominated the count of the *Saxon shore*; by which name, on account of the frequent descents of the Saxons, the shore of Britain on the east and south, was then designated.

The Saxons are described as one of the bravest nations presented to us in the whole compass of ancient history. Strength of body, patience in warlike labours, a ferocious courage, and a formidable activity, are the qualities by which they have been commemorated.† Such is the character given of that people who were ultimately doomed to have the dominion of Britain, who were to give laws and manners to a degenerate

* Eutrop. Lib. IX. † Turner's Hist. Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 71.

race, a people depressed into pusillanimity, under the slavish government of the Romans, whose imbecility was such, from continued oppression, that they could not defend themselves without the intervention of a foreign aid. Accustomed to a predatory and piratical life, the Saxons braved every element; neither the stormy ocean of the Germans, nor the dangerous shores of Britain could depress their ardour for plunder and conquest. The frowning clouds of winter darting the lightning's flash amidst the howling of the midnight storm, sheltered their designs from the view of an unsuspecting foe. But while we display a gleam of the brightest part of their character, let us not overlook one of the most horrible traits that can degrade the reputation of a people, a crime that casts the most odious shade over every minor virtue, that of sacrificing the whole or a part of the unfortunate captives who fell a prey to their vindictive rage. Had their objects been merely confined to the acquisition of territory or amassing plunder from their fellow creatures, we might have passed them with the same negative disgust which we entertain for conquerors in general; but when we are informed that they dragged off the inoffensive part of the inhabitants into bondage, and decimated their captives to be sacrificed as victims to an abominable deity* of disgusting attributes, our admiration must sink into abhorrence.]

The year 449 is the memorable era of the introduction of the Saxons into Britain under Hengist

* Turner's Hist. I. p. 73, 76.

and Horsa. At first they assisted the Britons in expelling the Picts and Scots from their territories, but when they had settled a few years in the isle of Thanet, they resolved to attempt the conquest of that country which they came to defend. While the two brothers received reinforcements of their countrymen, to establish their dominion in the south, a powerful force arrived in the north in 40 ships, commanded by Octa, the brother (or as some say the son) of Hengist, and Ebusa, (or Ebissa) Octa's son; who formed a settlement in the country formerly possessed by the Ottadini, extending from the Tyne to the firth of Forth. That country having been almost depopulated, they seem to have met with little opposition; and having made peace with their neighbours the Picts, they retained possession of the district; but made no considerable figure, being subject for a long course of years to the kingdom of Kent.*

On the arrival of Ida in 547, the affairs of this Saxon colony underwent an important change. He landed at Flamborough† with a host of Angles in 40 vessels, and bending his course northward united with the Saxons, and became the first king of Northumberland. This kingdom however was by no means so extensive as the kingdom of Northumbria afterwards became. The British princes possessed the western coasts, and

* Henry's History of Brit. Vol. II. p. 4, 9. Chalmers's Caledonia, Vol. I. p. 252. Ridpath's Border History, p. 14. † Anciently called Flemisburgh, which is the name of a city in that part of Denmark from which the Angles emigrated. See Sammes's Brit. Ant. p. 533. Camden's Brit. p. cii.

it is not certain that Ida's dominions reached to the Humber. He seems to have been only the king of Bernicia, the country between the Tyne and the firth of Forth.* His capital was Bebbanburgh, (now Bamburgh) so named in honour of his queen Bebba.† The southern part of Northumbria, which reached from the Tyne§ to the Humber, and of which York was the capital, was called the kingdom of Deira. The history of the erection of this kingdom is somewhat obscure. Bede intimates ‖ that it was peopled by Angles, and that their king was called Ella; and the Saxon Chronicle states that this Ella, who was the son of Iffi and, like the other Saxon kings, a descendant of Woden, began his reign in 560, and reigned 30 years.** As Ida died in the preceding year, having been slain in battle by Owen, one of the British chiefs on the west coasts, with whom he had had frequent wars, some have called Ella the successor‡ of Ida, and king of all Northumbria. This opinion is favoured by the Saxon Chronicle; but by other accounts it appears that while Ella reigned in Deira, several sons of Ida successively occupied the throne of Bernicia, till Ethelric, the last of them, upon the

* Henry's Hist. vol. II. p. 10. Ridpath's Border Hist. p. 15. Sammes's Britannia Antiqua. p. 533, 534. † Bed. L. III. c. 6. § The Tees appears to have been the boundary between Deira and Bernicia at some periods; and after the destruction of Ecgfrid and his army by the Picts in 685, the Tweed became the boundary of Bernicia on the north. Bed. L. III. c. 26. Chalmers's Caled. vol. I. p. 255, 256. The names Bernicia and Deira are said to have belonged to these districts, previous to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. See Turner's Hist. vol I. p. 174. ‖ Lib. II. c. 1. ** Yet it would appear from the same Chronicle that he reigned only 28 years. ‡ Some have even called him his *son*. See Drake's Eboracum, p. 71, 73.

death of Ella in 588, assumed the sovereignty of Deira also, which at his death he left to his son Ethelfrid, to the exclusion of Edwin son of Ella.* These accounts agree with the statement of Bede, that Edwin was the true heir to the kingdom of Deira, and Ethelfrid to that of Bernicia.† This Ethelfrid, who married Acca the daughter of Ella, was for several years king of all Northumbria; yet his dominions were more extensive than populous. The north of England was long in recovering from the devastations of the Picts; for John of Tynemouth relates, that in the early periods of the Saxon kingdoms, the whole country between the Tyne and the Tees was one vast desert, the habitation of wild beasts.§ It is probable that our mountainous district was at that time equally wild and desolate.

It was owing to the minority of Edwin that the king of Bernicia took possession of Deira; and perhaps the government of the kingdom was administered for some time in Edwin's name. At the death of his father Ella, he could not be more than two or three years old; at least if Bede be correct in stating that he was only 47 when he was slain in 633.‖ Upon the accession of Ethelfrid, (A. D. 593) the life of the young prince being in danger from his machinations, he fled, or rather was conveyed by his friends, to some safe retreat. For a time he found an asylum in the dominions of Cadvan, one of the British princes, by

* Ridpath's Hist. p. 16. Henry's Hist. vol. II. p. 10. † Lib. III. c. 1. § See Gibbon's Decl. and Fall, vol. III, p. 622. (4to Edition) ‖ Bed. Lib. II. c. 20.

whom he was educated;* he afterwards enjoyed the protection of Ceorl, king of Mercia, who gave him his daughter Quenburga in marriage, by whom he had two sons;† and at last he took refuge at the court of Redwald, king of the East Angles. Here the enmity of Ethelfrid, which pursued him from place to place, had nearly proved fatal to him. Redwald, dreading the power of Ethelfrid and moved by his promises, was on the point of delivering up his guest; but, prompted by his noble-minded queen, he afterwards adopted the more honourable resolution of re-instating him in the throne of his father. Marching suddenly with a strong force against Ethelfrid, he defeated and slew him on the banks of the Idle, though with the loss of his own son Reiner; and in consequence of this victory, which was gained in 617, Edwin ascended the throne of Northumbria, the sons of Ethelfrid having fled into Scotland.§

Edwin, educated in the school of adversity, proved one of the best and greatest of the Northumbrian princes; and, after the death of Redwald, he was regarded as the chief sovereign in the Saxon Heptarchy. He was beloved by his subjects, among whom he administered justice and diffused happiness; and dreaded by his enemies, who felt the power of his conquering arm. His dominions reached to the western sea, and several of the neighbouring states were compelled to pay him homage.**

* Turner's Hist. vol. I. p. 272. † Bed. Lib. II. c. 14. § Ibid. c. 12. Lib. III. c. 1. ** Lib. II. c. 5, 16.

But greatness is ever the butt of envy; and Edwin's glory awakened the jealousy of the neighbouring princes, and prompted them to plot his destruction. Cwichelm, king of the West Saxons, basely hired an assassin to cut him off; and the attempt would have succeeded, had not Lilla, one of Edwin's courtiers, generously interposed his body to receive the blow, thus sacrificing his own life for the preservation of his sovereign.* In the same year (626) a more successful enemy began to make his appearance in the person of Penda king of Mercia, the scourge of the Saxon princes. After some bloody wars with the kings of East Anglia and Wessex, he turned his arms against Edwin; and having united his forces with those of Cadwallon, a British prince, fought with the Northumbrians at Hethfield, (supposed to be Hatfield in Yorkshire) where Edwin and his son Osfrid and the greater part of his army were unfortunately slain. His queen Ethelburga (his second wife) fled with her family to the court of her brother Eadbald king of Kent; and Northumbria was dreadfully ravaged by the conquerors.†

Upon the death of Edwin, A. D. 633, Osric, the son of his uncle Elfric, took possession of the throne of Deira; while Eanfrid, one of the sons of Ethelfrid, returning from Scotland, was placed on that of

* Bed. Lib. II. c. 9. † Saxon Chron. Bed. Lib. II. c. 20. An account of the introduction of christianity into Northumberland in the reign of Edwin, will be given in Book II.

Bernicia: but both these princes were slain next year by the fierce Cadwallon, and Northumbria was wasted more cruelly than before.*

[A temporary deliverer of his country arose in Oswald, another son of Ethelfrid, and nephew of Edwin by his sister Acca. This young warrior, roused by the groaning sufferings of his oppressed country, and the recent murder of his brother Eanfrid by the ruffian hands of Cadwallon,† nobly resolved to arrest the progress of the destroyer. The banks of the Deniseburn, near Hexham, became the goal of this barbarous hero's career: Oswald with a small but gallant band attacked the very superior forces of the British king and completely overthrew them. There the enthraller of Lloegyr, the fierce affliction of his foes, the prosperous lion fell.§ The death of Cadwallon was followed by the decline of the power of the Cambro-Britons in Northumbria, which was again united into one kingdom. The victory of Oswald was marked with humanity; every action of his is represented in the fairest light; but we must recollect that the historians of his conduct were extremely partial. His liberality was unbounded, his piety sincere, and his knowledge extensive. After extending his power, improving the state of the country and ornamenting it with churches,‖ the

* Bed. Lib. III. c 1. † Eanfrid went to Cadwallon with twelve soldiers only, to sue for peace; but the barbarous monster, regardless of the sacred purpose of his visit, slew the unsuspecting Eanfrid without giving him an audience.—W. § Turner's Hist. I. p. 288. Bed. Lib. III. c. 1. ‖ Ibid. c. 3, 6.

glory of his splendid reign was clouded in the end. The hoary-headed Penda, king of Mercia, cut short the number of his days; he fell together with the flower of his army (A. D. 642) in an engagement with the pagan monarch at Maserfield* in Shropshire. The inhuman Penda mangled the dead body of the king, and to refine upon brutality itself, he caused the reeking fragments to be placed yet streaming with blood upon the points of stakes, as trophies of his victory.†

The conquering army ravaged the kingdom of Northumbria with unrelenting fury; but the barbarous Penda unsuspectingly procured his own defeat. He failed in an attempt to carry the city of Bebbanburh by storm, and in order to ensure success at the second attack, he caused an immense pile of wood to be raised near the most accessible part of the walls, intending by this means to set the city in flames when the wind should prove most favourable for that purpose, and in the midst of the conflagration to rush with all his force upon the place; but the hand of providence had determined against him, a fallacious breeze arose, the destructive torch was applied to the mighty pile, his soldiers flew to the assault, and just when the fiery columns were overtopping the walls, the fickle wind changed in a moment to the opposite point; the assailants were enveloped in an ocean of smoke and flame; numbers were severely

* Since called Oswald's tree, and by abbreviation Oswestry.—W.
† Bed. Lib. III. c. 9, 12.

scorched, and the rest fled with the utmost consternation. The Northumbrians viewed this deliverance as an interposition of heaven.*]

After the death of Oswald, Northumbria was again divided into two kingdoms; Oswy his brother taking possession of Bernicia, while Oswin the son of Osric, Edwin's cousin, reigned in Deira. Oswin is represented as a most amiable prince, and the Deirans were blessed with his government for seven years. At the close of that period he was involved in a war with the ambitious Oswy, who sought to annex Deira to his own dominions. The hostile armies approached each other at a place not far from Catterick bridge, when Oswin, perceiving the inferiority of his force, humanely resolved to prevent the effusion of blood, by dismissing his army and retiring into a place of concealment till better times. He took refuge in the house of a earl Hunwald, whom he regarded as his most trusty friend; but Hunwald had the baseness to betray him to Oswy, by whose orders he was cruelly murdered at Yedingham; where, to atone for his crime, Oswy afterwards erected a monastery.†

* Bed. L. III. c. 16. It is not certain, however, whether this event took place immediately after the death of Oswald, or during some other of Penda's inroads into Northumberland.

† Ibid. Lib. III. c. 14. "This was done," says Bede, "in the *ninth* year of *his* reign;" which may denote either the reign of Oswin, or that of Oswy, though the Saxon version understands it of the latter. Either the *seven* years of Oswin's reign must mean the seven years of his prosperity, which sense is consistent with the words of Bede in the above chapter; or we must suppose that Oswin lived more than a year after he had ceased to reign. Some to remove the difficulty, allege that Oswin began his reign *two* years later than

† Error—for Yedingham—read Gilling; see Note—page 121.

But the murderer did not enjoy in quietness the fruits of his cruelty; for it appears that the Deirans, detesting his crime, made Ethelwald the son of Oswald their king. We find that in his reign a considerable part of this district must have been little better than a wilderness; for when through his munificence the monastery of Lestingham was founded by Cedd, the places all around appeared more like the dens of robbers or of wild beasts than the habitations of man.*

To confirm himself in the possession of his throne against the attempts of Oswy, Ethelwald formed an alliance with the bloody Penda king of Mercia, who from time to time had renewed his ravages in Bernicia; and who, having strengthened himself by a further alliance with Ethelhere, king of the East Angles, resolved, though he was now eighty years old, to undertake an expedition for the overthrow of Oswy's kingdom. [Oswy endeavoured in vain to appease the ambitious Penda, he even offered him his royal ornaments and other presents of great value; but finding these acts of humiliation of no avail, the sword was the only alternative left him. Oswy, accompanied by his son Alchfrid, with a force said to be only one thirtieth of the combined armies under the

Oswy; but Bede tells us that Oswin reigned in Deira in the *beginning* of Oswy's reign. The Saxon Chronicle places the death of Oswin in 651, corresponding with the ninth year of Oswy's reign.

* Elegit sibi locum monasterii construendi in montibus arduis ac remotis: in quibus latronum magis latibula ac lustra ferarum, quam habitacula fuisse videbantur hominum. Bed. Lib. III. c. 23.

command of Penda and his allies attacked, this mighty host and overthrew them with great slaughter. The hoary veteran Penda, together with the flower of his army, perished in the engagement, and the flight of his troops was rendered more destructive by an extraordinary overflow of the river Air, which devoured more than the sword. Thus fell the destroyer of mankind in the year 655, a just example to ambitious heroes.*]

The victory of Oswy was chiefly owing to the part which Ethelwald acted on the day of battle; for that prince, justly dreading that Penda if victorious would take possession of Deira as well as Bernicia, withdrew with his forces at the commencement of the action, to await the issue; a circumstance which greatly discouraged the Mercians, and contributed much to their defeat. What became of Ethelwald after the engagement is not certainly known. Some think that he retained possession of Deira till his death which took place in a few years after; but as the monastery of Streaneshalh, which Oswy founded about two years from the date of this victory, was in Deira, and as Mercia which lay beyond Deira was for some years subject to Oswy, it would seem that Ethelwald either resigned his kingdom entirely to Oswy, or contented himself with a part of it.† At any rate we know that in the year 664, when the

* Bed. Lib. III. c. 24. The place in which this battle was fought is called Winwidfield, and is supposed to have been situated near where the present town of Leeds stands.—W. † Bed. Lib. III. c. 24.

synod of Streaneshalh was held, Alchfrid the son of Oswy was his partner in the kingdom of Northumbria;* and it appears from the part which Alchfrid took in procuring a bishop for York immediately after, and in founding the monastery of Ripon some years before, that Deira was his province, while his father retained possession of Bernicia.† Yet we have good reason to believe, that Oswy during the last two or three years of his life reigned alone, and it is certain that at his death he was not succeeded by Alchfrid, but by Ecgfrid another of his sons.§

Historians are not agreed respecting the fate of Alchfrid. It is generally thought that upon the death of his father he was deposed by a faction of the nobles, as being illegitimate, and the crown given to Ecgfrid the son of queen Eanfleda; and that, having retired into Ireland, he occupied himself in the pursuits of literature, till in consequence of Ecgfrid's death he was recalled to the throne. This idea is countenanced by some passages in Malmesbury. ‖ But upon a close examination of the subject, I am fully persuaded, that Aldfrid the successor of Ecgfrid was another son of Oswy, and not the Alchfrid who was Oswy's colleague, and who seems to have died before his father. The name of Oswy's eldest son, though very similar to that of the prince who

* Bed. L. III. c. 25. † Ibid. c. 28, 25. L. V. c. 20. Ridpath allots Deira to Oswy and Bernicia to Alchfrid. Border Hist. p. 22. This is not the only instance of inattention in that author. He makes Eanfleda, Edwin's daughter, the wife of Oswald; though it is well known that she was Oswy's wife. § Bed. Lib. IV. c. 3, 5. ‖ Turner V. I. p. 298, 304.

succeeded Ecgfrid, is quite distinct from it. The former occurs in Bede's Ecclesiastical History *nine* times, and the latter *ten* times, and in every instance the distinction is preserved; which is particularly observable in that chapter which contains the life of Wilfrid, where both are mentioned.* Aldfrid married Cuthburga, sister of Ina king of Wessex, and seems to have had another wife after she deserted him,† but the wife of Alchfrid was Cyniburga, daughter of Penda king of Mercia, whose son Peada married Alchfleda the sister of Alchfrid.§ From the date of this last marriage, which was subsequent to that of Alchfrid, it is obvious that Eanfleda could not be the mother of Alchfrid and Alchfleda, for the latter was married in 653, the 11th year of Oswy's reign, and Oswy's marriage with Eanfleda did not take place before his accession to the throne. ‖ But when it is

* L. V. c. 20. The former is always called Alchfridus (and in two instances Alhfridus) in the Latin, and *Ealhfrith* in the Saxon version; the latter is always named Aldfridus (and in one instance Alfridus) in the Latin, and *Ealdfrith* (in one place *Aldfrith*) in the Saxon, and in the Saxon Chronicle *Ealdferth*. The name of Alfred the Great is distinct from both, being Alfredus in the Latin, and *Ælfred* in the Saxon. It was not uncommon among the Saxons to find two brothers, or two sisters, having nearly the same name. In the family of Oswy himself there was an Alhfleda (or *Ealhflæd)* and an Elfleda (or *Ælflæd)* as well as an Alchfrid and an Aldfrid. The name *Ælfred*, or *Ælfrith* denotes *All peace*: *Ealdfrith* signifies *Lasting peace*, or *The peace of former times*,—literally *Old peace*. The meaning of *Ealhfrith* is no doubt distinct from both, though I cannot explain the distinction. *Eald* and *Ealh* frequently occur in the composition of Saxon names; but they are by no means used indiscriminately. From some passages, even in Malmesbury, it may be inferred that Aldfrid, (or Alfrid as he calls him) who was so hostile to Wilfrid, was not the Alchfrid who had Wilfrid for his preceptor.—See Wilkins's Concilia V. I. p. 65, 67. † Saxon Chron.—Malmesb. § Bed. L. III. c. 21. ‖ Ibid. c. 15.

considered that Alchfrid and Alchfleda were so honourably married, that they lived at the court of Oswy after his marriage with Eanfleda, and that Oswy made Alchfrid his colleague in the throne while he had sons by that queen, it appears far more probable that they were children by a former wife, than that they were illegitimate. That this Alchfrid died before his father may be inferred from Bede's account of the death of Oswy, where, without taking any notice of Alchfrid, he informs us that "he left his son Ecfrid the heir of his kingdom."* We also find from another passage in Bede, which seems to have been overlooked by our modern historians, that this Alchfrid rebelled against his father;† and it is probable, from a tradition which will be mentioned presently, that he perished in this rebellion, and that this district was the scene of the unnatural conflict. This event appears to have occurred previous to the year 668; for some transactions related by the same author, respecting bishops Theodore, Wilfrid, and Ceadda, imply that before that year Oswy had resumed the sovereignty of all Northumbria.§

It is not unlikely that Aldfrid might be the illegitimate offspring of Oswy; for he seems to have lived in retirement till his elevation to the throne; and when Bede first introduces him to our notice, he

* Ecfridum filium regni hæredem reliquit. L. IV. c. 5. † L. III. c. 14. Where it is stated that Oswy had a troublous reign; "Impugnatus videlicet a pagano rege Penda,————et *a filio quoque suo Alhfrido.*" § L. III. c. 1. &c.

speaks with some hesitation of his relation to Ecgfrid and Oswy.*

[Ecgfrid succeeded his father in 670, and reigned fifteen years over all Northumbria, which henceforth formed but one kingdom. He was an ambitious and restless prince, and his reign was disastrous both to his neighbours and to his own subjects. He vanquished the Picts with such dreadful slaughter that two rivers are said to have been so filled up with the carcases of the slain, that Ecgfrid marched his army over the dead corpses dryshod. He invaded Lincolnshire about the year 679, but was repulsed by Ethelred king of Mercia, to whom that province belonged, in a bloody engagement on the Trent, in which Elfwine the brother of Ecgfrid was slain.† Nevertheless this disaster did not prevent him from invading Ireland, in 684, and carrying desolation through the verdant fields of Erin. In the year after his Irish expedition he again invaded the territories of the Picts, A. D. 685, but he was decoyed by these wary people into the strait of Drumnechtan, where he perished with the greatest part of his army;§ not like the great Leonidas, in defence of his country, but in the flagitious attempt to subjugate and enslave another.]

* Successit autem Ecgfrido in regnum Aldfrid, vir in scripturis doctissimus, qui frater ejus et filius Oswini regis *esse dicebatur*, Lib. IV. c. 26.—Had Bede meant to refer to what *he himself* had formerly said, he would doubtless have used a different phrase.—I find that an ancient chronicle speaks expressly of Alchfrid and Aldfrid as *two* sons of Oswy; calling the one Alfrid and the other Elfrid; "Alfridus et Elfridus filii Oswii regis Northumbrorum." Lel. Collect. I. p. 211. † Bed. Lib. IV. c. 21. § Ibid. c. 26.

Ecgfrid dying without issue,* his brother Aldfrid who had retired into Ireland, was recalled to occupy the vacant throne. At his accession the limits of Northumbria were much contracted, the Picts having, in consequence of their victory, taken possession of the country between the Tweed and the Forth, while the Britons made some encroachments on the west. Aldfrid, however, made no attempt to extend his kingdom to its former boundaries, either because he found his force incompetent to the task, or because he felt no inclination to the work of blood. His long retirement in Ireland was honourably devoted to the pursuits of literature and the study of the scriptures; and, after his elevation to the throne, he became the patron of men of piety and learning, and was himself distinguished as one of the greatest scholars of that age.† Such a prince would prefer the glory of diffusing knowledge, goodness, and happiness among his subjects, to that spurious renown which is the offspring of misery, and which riots in slaughter.

* His queen Etheldrith, it is said, persisted in remaining a virgin, though she lived with him twelve years; at the end of which period she parted from him and became the abbess of Ely. Bed. Lib. IV. c. 19.—It is a singular circumstance that Cuthburga, the wife of his brother and successor Aldfrid, also deserted her royal consort to embrace the monastic life, and founded the monastery of Winburn in Dorsetshire; and that Cyniburga (or Kyniburga) the wife of Alchfrid their elder brother, in like manner laid aside the crown for the veil, becoming the founder and first abbess of a monastery in Huntingdonshire, called from her Kyneburg-ceaster, and afterwards Caster. This last queen, however, appears to have been a widow at the time of her retirement. Chron. Sax. sub an. 718. Lel. Coll. I. p. 48, 82. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 63, 64, 65. See also Britannia Sancta. V. II. p. 108, 109. V. I. p. 156, 157, where Alchfrid and Aldfrid are clearly distinguished. † Bed Lib. IV. c. 26. V. c. 13, 16. Turner's Hist. V. I. p. 304.

Tradition has reported, that the peaceful reign of the learned Aldfrid ended in blood; and that this district was the scene of the conflict in which he received his mortal wound. On a hill close by the village of Ebberston, on the north side, there are some vestiges of a cave, now almost filled up, over which was once placed, (as some old people now living can recollect) a stone, and afterwards a board, with an inscription to the following purport: "Alfrid, king of Northumberland, was wounded in a bloody battle nigh this place, and was hid in a cave; and from thence he was removed to Little Driffield, where he died."* The battle, it is said, was fought partly on the heights, and partly in a plain on the west side of the village, now called *the bloody field.*

That Aldfrid died at Driffield (19 Cal. Jan. 705) is stated in the Saxon Chronicle, at least in some copies of it; and it is generally believed that he was buried in the church of Little Driffield; as appears from the following inscription now on the south wall of the chancel of that church:

WITHIN THIS CHANCEL LYES THE BODY OF ALFRED
KING OF NORTHUMBERLAND, WHO DEPARTED

* About 20 yards north of the cave stands a grotto of a circular form, constructed of rude stones, and arched or closed in at the top. It is about 3 yards diameter within, and 4 yards high in the centre: the entrance faces the south, and a dwarf wall surrounds the building at the distance of 2 yards. Sir Charles Hotham who erected this grotto to the memory of Alfrid, about the year 1790, intended to have placed a stone with a suitable inscription in the wall of the building within; and to have decorated the outside with ivy and other shrubs, but death prevented the completion of his plan.

THIS LIFE JANY. 19TH,* ANNO DOMINI 705, IN THE XXTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

Statutum est omnibus semel mori.†

This inscription seems to corroborate the Ebberston tradition; yet that tradition cannot apply to this Aldfrid; for not only does Bede who mentions his death, and who was himself then living, give no hint of his having perished by the sword; but we have the

* The author of this inscription must have been unacquainted with the Roman mode of reckoning the days of the month: for 19 *Calend. Januar.* 705, is not the 19th of January, 705, but corresponds with the 14th of December, 704.

† *"It is appointed for all men once to die."*

The following strange story is given in Cooke's Topography of Yorkshire, (p. 353) a work which is shamefully incorrect:

"In 1784 the Society of Antiquarians, having had undoubted information that the remains of king Alfred the Great, who died in the year 901, were deposited in the parish church of Little Driffield, deputed two of that learned body (accompanied by some other gentlemen), to take up and examine the same. Accordingly, on Tuesday the 20th of September, 1784, the above gentlemen, with proper assistants, entered the church for that purpose, to be directed to the identical spot by a secret history. After digging some time they found a stone coffin, and, on opening the same, discovered the entire skeleton of that great and pious prince, together with most part of his steel armour, the remainder of which had probably been corroded by rust and length of time. After satisfying their curiosity, the coffin was closed, as well as the grave, that every thing might remain in the same state as when found. In the history above alluded to, it appears, that king Alfred, being wounded in the battle of Stanford Briggs, returned to Driffield, where he languished of his wounds 20 days, and then expired, and was interred in the parish church thereof. During his sickness he chartered four fairs, which are now annually held."

It is unnecessary here to inquire how Alfred the Great came to be buried in Northumbria, which during his reign was possessed by the Danes, or how he could be wounded in a battle that was fought 150 years after his death! It is well known that that Alfred died a natural death, and was interred at Winchester. This ridiculous story took its rise from a search that was made for the remains of Aldfrid, in 1784, by some gentlemen of Great Driffield, which is about a mile from Little Driffield. This search, of which a particular account is

express testimony of William of Malmesbury, and of Eddius in his life of Wilfrid, that Aldfrid died through the effect of a painful disease, which was regarded as a punishment inflicted by Providence for his severity to that *saint*; and they state that his sister Ælfleda, abbess of Streneshalh, who visited him in his sickness,

given in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1785, and in Gough's Camden (V. III. p. 71), ended in disappointment; but some persons, desirous of amusing themselves and the public at the expense of truth, inserted this romantic narrative in the Newspapers of that time, from whence it was copied (with some corrections) into the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1785, and afterwards found its way into other works.

In 1807, when the church of Little Driffield was taken down and rebuilt, the present minister, the Rev. Richard Allen, by whom I have been favoured with these particulars, made another fruitless search for the remains of Aldfrid. He found, however, when the walls were taken down, that what constituted the whole of the church had formerly been only the middle aisle, and that the chancel had undergone a similar contraction; and that consequently if Aldfrid was interred near the north wall, upon which the inscription was formerly painted, his remains must now be in the church yard. When, or by whom, the inscription was first placed in the church is not known; but it has been twice renewed within the memory of man, and has undergone various modifications.

It appears from the following extract of a Letter from Dr. Stukeley, (dated July 13, 1740), which I find in Reliquiæ Galeanæ (MSS), that there was formerly a tomb-stone to the memory of Aldfrid:

"I parted with you at Godmunham with much concern. After I overcame my grief, I pushed for Driffield, and arrived there by 8 at night. The church there is very ancient: in it is a basso relievo of Paulinus. Next morning I walked in pilgrimage to visit my patron's tomb at Little Driffield. 'Tis in the quire, about knee high, seemingly of that antiquity; but I suspect they have laid a new blue stone over it. Here reposes the great king Alkfrid, who lived in our castle (at Stanford), and built the church formerly before my door, and I believe founded the university there. However he brought christianity into the kingdom of Mercia, and gave his chaplain Wilfrid the ground on which he founded our St. Leonards."

I need scarcely remark that Dr. Stukeley considers Aldfrid and Alchfrid as the same individual.

declared in the Council of Nidd, that her brother Aldfrid in his last illness, vowed that if he should recover, he would restore Wilfrid to his dignity and possessions.* If the tradition has any foundation in fact, it must relate to the death of his brother Alchfrid, who rebelled against his father, and most probably came to an untimely end. This hilly district, so near the limits between Deira and Bernicia, is very likely to have been the scene of the contest: and it is worthy of remark, that the entrenchments on Scamridge, near Ebberston, have from time immemorial been known by the name of Oswy's Dikes, probably because Oswy's army encamped there, before engaging with the forces of his rebellious son. Even the last part of the tradition might be true of Alchfrid; for if Driffield was frequently the residence of the Northumbrian kings, as some have stated, the remains of more than one of them might be there deposited.

[Upon the death of Aldfrid, who reigned 19years, his son Osred, a child about eight years of age, succeeded to the crown; but Eadulf stepped in between the infant and the tempting prize, and seized it for himself. The young king fled accompanied by Berectfrid his guardian and friend, and took refuge in the strong fortress of Bebbanburh; and the majority of the nation declaring in his favour, the usurper was driven from the throne, and Osred reinstated in his dominions. Little is related of him in the history of those times: all that we can find is, that

* Wilkins's Concil. V. I. p. 67, 68, 69.

he was slain at the lake Windamere, in the 19th year of his age, and that Cenred a prince of the blood royal ascended the tottering throne, which he held only for the space of two years, and was then removed to his last mansion—the grave, A. D. 718.* Osric, the second son of Aldfrid, next appeared upon the turbulent stage of power; and after the changing scenes of blood which succeeded each other, without advantage to his country, or honour to his memory, he died in the year 729; and had for his successor Ceolwulph the brother of Cenred, who, in 737, exchanged the bloodstained diadem for the religious tonsure. It was to this prince that the enlightened Bede inscribed his ecclesiastical history, which was completed about the second year of Ceolwulph's reign.†

Eadbert, the next possessor of the crown, was a prince of eminent talents, and great military reputation: he gained several important advantages over the Britons; but the allurements of a monastery were irresistible inducements for him to forsake a temporal crown, in hopes of securing a crown of more permanent value. He retired into a convent in York about the year 758.§ A rapid alternation of usurpers, kings, rebels, murderers, and robbers now wasted the agitated regions of Northumbria without intermis-

* Sax. Chron. Bed. Lib. V. c. 19. 23. Turner's Hist. Vol. I. p. 312, 314. † Bed. Lib. V. c. 24. Simeon Dunelm. Hist. Eccles. Dun. c. 13, 16.—The Saxon Chronicle places the accession of Ceolwulph in 731, and his resignation in 739. § Turner's Hist. Vol. I. p. 326. Continuation of the Epitome of Bede. Simeon Dun. c. 18.

sion. Osulph had the temerity to assume the crown which his father had resigned; but the year of his accession proved also that of his dissolution: he suffered by the hands of the most execrable of all enemies—his own treacherous domestics. Ethelwold, sirnamed *Moll*, upon the death of Osulph, immediately took possession of the throne; but his claims appear to have been those of usurpation. A prince of the name of Oswin opposed him as being the lawful heir; a desperate battle ensued at Eldun, near Melrose in Scotland, between the forces of these rival warriors, which is said to have lasted three days, in which Oswin was slain, and his army vanquished. Ethelwold did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, being obliged to resign the crown into the hands of Alered (or Alcred) the son of Osulph.* Alered enjoyed the tinsel of royalty until the year 774; if it be proper to call a life of treasons, plots, and domestic murders, enjoyment. He was deserted by his family and nobles, in the time of Easter festival, and obliged to seek his safety by a precipitate flight from York. He first retired to Bamborough, and thence, accompanied by a few, to Cynoth the Pictish king. Ethelred the son of Moll, who had been the cause of the downfall of Alered was placed on the throne. In the third year of his reign he basely procured the death of two of his generals by the instrumentality of two others;† and in the very next year these men who had been

* Ridpath's Hist. p. 35. Henry's Hist. Vol. II. p. 38.
† Turner's Hist. Vol. I. p. 326.

the vile actors of this tragic scene, turned their ruffian hands against himself, and with their forces expelled him from the kingdom. Alfwold the son of Osulph, the legitimate heir to the crown, succeeded him. Alfwold was highly esteemed for his rectitude and piety; but these virtues were in little estimation amongst the Northumbrians of this age. He fell another victim to treachery in the year 788, by the arts of Sigan one of his nobles. Osred the nephew of Alfwold, and son of Alered, had the misfortune to accept the crown from the assassins of his uncle; but in the year following he was made the mark of their ridicule; they seized him in his palace, and having shaved him as a monk, forced him into a monastery at York. The sanguinary Ethelred was recalled from exile, to revisit and take possession of the Aceldama. Osred made his escape to the Isle of Man for safety, but was induced to leave his retreat by the oaths and entreaties of a part of his former nobility. As soon as a favourable moment appeared, these Proteuses of human nature betrayed him into the hands of the brutal Ethelred; and he was barbarously murdered at Aynburg in the year 792.* Elf and Elwin the sons of Alfwold were also dragged from their sanctuary in York and slain. Ethelred in order to secure his possession in the firmest manner, contracted a matrimonial alliance with Elfleda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia; but all these precautions were of no avail: duke Wada, a Saxon

* Ridpath's Hist. p. 36.

chief of great power, who resided at Mulgrave castle, headed an army of conspirators, fell upon the inhuman Ethelred, and slew him in the year 794. Such was the anarchy and barbarism which prevailed at this period, that, according to William of Malmesbury, nobody had the courage to accept of the Northumbrian crown the advancement to it appearing in so many instances to lead to certain destruction. However it appears that Osbald was destined to enjoy the ghostly shadow of kingly power for twenty-seven days, when he was deposed; but he had the good fortune to evade the death-hunters of Northumbria, by escaping into the monastery of Lindisfarn, and from thence to the Pictish court. Eardulf a nobleman, who had been left weltering in his blood at the gates of a monastery by the murderous Ethelred, but through the care of the monks had been restored to health, was now recalled from these sacred abodes, to wield the sceptre, or perhaps more properly speaking the poniard. In the fourth year of his reign, Eardulf had to contend with the forces of Wada and his confederates, but he vanquished them in a great battle fought near Whalley, in Lancashire,* and Wada was forced to seek shelter at Mulgrave where he died.† In order to secure his crown still further, Eardulf caused Alchmund the son of Alered to be put to death, that the last bud of the ancient Northumbrian kings might be totally annihilated. Eardulf

* Charlton erroneously states this place to be in Lincolnshire: perhaps it was an error of the press.—W. † Camden's Brit. Vol. III. p. 18, 129. Turner's Hist. Vol. I. p. 328, 329. Ridpath's Hist. p. 36, 37.

found a potent enemy in Kenulf king of Mercia: this prince had protected several of the enemies of the Northumbrian king; war appeared inevitable, an army was raised on either side; but a reconciliation was effected by the interposition of the prelates and nobles of each kingdom.* In the year 806 Eardulf was banished the kingdom, and Alfwold is mentioned as a fleeting monarch for the two following years, when the crown devolved upon Eanred the son of Eardulf. In his reign an attack was aimed at Northumbria by Egbert the powerful king of the West Saxons, (A. D. 827) but Eanred evaded the blow by acknowledging the supremacy of Egbert.† This circumstance seems to have obtained him the peaceable possession of Northumbria till the year 841, at which time he appears to have had the novel consolation of dying a natural death. He was succeeded in the government by his son Ethelred, who was slain by Osbert in 850, and this usurper ascended the throne.§

We have now passed through a dismal period of Northumbrian history; unparalleled in the history of nations for varied and multiplied atrocities. A new

* Ridpath p. 37. † Mr. Turner in his very elegant history of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. I. p. 367, has completely refuted the generally received opinion; that Egbert was acknowledged king of all England. Athelstan was undoubtedly the first monarch that could with any degree of propriety assume that title.—W. § Sim Dun. Hist. D. E. c. 20.—It would appear from Matth. Westm. that in 844, Ethelred was driven from his throne by a faction, and one Redowald put in his place; but the latter being slain not long after by a party of Danes who had made a descent on the coast, Ethelred was restored.

era is before us, but we are sorry to observe the prospect equally dreary to the afflicted inhabitants, and disgraceful to mankind. The Northmen, or Danes, a more barbarous race, if possible, than even the Saxon pirates, suddenly made their appearance, to contest the palm of empire with the Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

It was a law or custom amongst the northern nations, that only one of the male children should be selected to remain at home to inherit the government and property of his forefathers, the rest were exiled to the ocean, in quest of a fortune to be derived from rapacity, or obtained by the sword. All men of royal descent, who assumed piracy as a profession, enjoyed the name of sea-kings.* Without a yard of territorial property, without any visible nation or even a single town, with no wealth but their ships, no force but their crews, and no hope but from their sword, the sea-kings swarmed upon the boisterous ocean, visited like the fiends of vengeance every district they could approach, and maintained a fearful empire on that element, whose impartial terrors, seem to mock the attempt of converting it into kingdoms.† They plundered the more fertile parts of the earth of its productions, and then retired into their frosty abodes to enjoy, or rather to devour, the fruits of a dangerous campaign.

These fierce barbarians seem to have maintained a studied equality amongst themselves; every one

* Turner II. p. 40. † Ibid. p. 38, 39.

drank from the same vessel, without regard either to rank or power; to excel in personal accomplishment was to exhibit the most refined species of ferocity; and in nothing was their character for cruelty more conspicuous than in their savage exultation over their miserable captives. They tore the helpless infant from its mother's breast, and tossed it from one ruffian to another, that they might practise their dexterity by catching the shrieking innocent upon the point of their spears. This was one of their amusements—a pastime well calculated to enure them to scenes of cruelty, unchecked by the dictates of humanity.*

It was a custom amongst the ancient warriors to set up a dismal shout when they rushed into battle. The modern Russians and the different tribes of American Indians continue the same horrid yell. But the Danes seem to have excelled even in this species of brutality: they imitated as much as possible the howling of maddened wolves, gnawed their shields, and exhibited the most perfect images of frantic horror.†

The first attempt made by the Danes upon the shores of Northumbria was in the year 793, when they plundered the monastery of Lindisfarn, slew a great number of the monks, and carried several of the rest away captives. Six years previous to this time, they had begun their destructive career in the southern parts of the island, where they slew the

* Turner II. p. 47, 48. † Ibid. p. 48, 49.

Gerefa of the place, upon his going out to interrogate them concerning their business.* In 794, the abbey of Jarrow underwent the same fate as that of Lindisfarn had done the preceding year; but the overstretched arm of ambitious avarice generally enfeebles its own might. The Danes spread over the country in sanguine expectations of securing a considerable booty; but they were attacked by the inhabitants who slew several of them, one of whom was a chief; and of those who returned to their ships numbers perished in a storm. This disaster seems to have greatly subdued the ardour of these demons of the north for a length of time.†]

In the reign of Osbert the Danes invaded the north of England with an immense force, under the command of Inguar, Hubba, Halfdene, and several other kings and chiefs. The occasion of this formidable attack has been variously represented. Some have ascribed it to the resentment of Bruern Bocard, a nobleman who guarded the coasts, whose beautiful lady had been ravished by Osbert; and who, in revenge for this injury, not only procured the expulsion of the adulterer from the southern part of Northumbria, where Ella was advanced to the throne in his stead, but resolved to compleat the work of vengeance

* Ibid. I. p. 341. Sax. Chron. ad An. 787. † Ridpath p. 37. Turner Vol. II. p. 63. Sim. Dunelm. c. 20.—Charlton in his History of Whitby (p. 41.) tells us that the plunderers fell in with Ethelred king of Northumberland, who routed them with the assistance of the king of Mercia: but this statement appears to be unsupported, and, as far as regards the king of Mercia, it is even inconsistent with the history of that period.—*N. B. Thus far Mr. Winter had proceeded in the General History.*

by inviting the Danes to assist him in accomplishing Osbert's ruin. Others, with more probability, attribute this invasion to the revenge of the Danes themselves, for the death of Ragnar Lodbrog, the father of Inguar, Hubba, and Halfdene, who having been thrown on the Northumbrian coast with a small force, was attacked and taken prisoner by Ella, who caused him to perish in a dungeon among venomous snakes.*

But whatever might be the causes of this invasion, it was conducted on a scale sufficient to ensure its success, against a kingdom already weakened by intestine broils, and wholly unprepared for the approach of an enemy. Five years had nearly elapsed since Ella had been set up in opposition to Osbert; and the power of these two rival princes had been so equally balanced, that while the former maintained himself on the throne of Deira, he could not expel the latter from the possession of Bernicia.† Such

* A northern poem entitled, The QUIDA, or DEATH SONG of RAGNAR LODBROG, is still extant; and exhibits a lively picture of the barbarous heroism of that age.—Some of our English Annalists have transferred the scene of Ragnar's death to East Anglia; but the accounts of the Icelandic writers appear more worthy of credit.—See Turner's Hist. Vol. II. p. 116, 117. † Rapin, whom Drake and Charlton have followed, assigns Bernicia to Ella, and Deira to Osbert; but I find that the lands which Osbert is charged with taking from the church of Lindisfarn are situated in Bernicia, while those which Ella seized belong to Deira. Sim. Dun. c. 21.—To this I may add, that in an ancient record, which gives an account of Ella's adultery with the wife of Ærnulf Seafar, a rich merchant of York, he is expressly called *rex Deirorum*; and is said to have then resided within a few miles of York. Lel. Coll. II. p. 367.—This circumstance tends to throw discredit on the story of Bruern Bocard; for if the Danes came to avenge his quarrel with Osbert, they ought not to have invaded Deira but Bernicia.

was the state of Northumberland when the Danish armada, composed of various warlike bands, all equally eager for plunder and for blood, prepared to overwhelm it. Having spent a part of the winter in East Anglia, where they first landed, and where they obtained a supply of horses, the enemy crossed the Humber in great force; and advancing rapidly towards York, took possession of that capital, and from thence proceeded to lay waste the province with fire and sword. The tide of desolation rolled northward to the banks of the Tyne, filling every place with slaughter and rapine, sparing neither age nor sex, and converting the country into a desert, and the towns and villages into heaps of ruins. The churches and monasteries were peculiarly the objects of pagan fury; and this district being involved in the common ruin, Streneshalh with its venerable abbey became a prey to the flames.*

Osbert and Ella saw when it was too late the fatal effects of their civil discord, and, through the interference of their nobles, they at last agreed to

* Chron. Sax. Sim. Dunelm. c. 21. Lelandi Collect. III. p. 39.—Charlton (p. 42) has made the neighbourhood of Streneshalh the first landing place of the Danes in this expedition, marking out Dunsley Bay as the place where the division of Hubba disembarked, and assigning Peak to that of his brother Inguar. I can find nothing to support his fanciful narrative, except the existence of a *Ravenhill* at each place; which name he supposes to have arisen from the planting of the Danish standard, the *Raven*, on eminences near the shore. It is more probable that both places have derived their name from living ravens. At any rate, we are sure that the Danes on this occasion did not land in this neighbourhood, but penetrated into the Northumbrian kingdom from the south.

forget their quarrels, and unite their forces against the common enemy. The Danes had retired to York with their booty. Thither the two kings, with eight earls, advanced to attack them. A dreadful conflict took place at York, partly without the walls, and partly in the streets; a part of the Saxon troops having forced their way into the town. For a long time the issue was doubtful; but at last the Saxons were overpowered, and Osbert and Ella both perished, with the greater part of their army. The Icelandic and other northern historians relate that Ella was put to a cruel death, in revenge for the death of Ragnar Lodbrog.*

This catastrophe, which occurred in the spring† of 867, was fatal to the kingdom of Northumbria, which never again recovered its independence as a Saxon state; for when it had continued some years under the dominion of the Danes, it submitted, like the rest of England, to the kings of Wessex.

After the battle of York, the Danes assumed the sovereignty of all Northumberland. They appointed one Ecgbert to be king of Bernicia, but retained Deira in their own possession; and York, which they repaired, became their head quarters, from whence they extended their ravages into Mercia, East Anglia, and other kingdoms of the Heptarchy. East Anglia experienced the same fate as Deira; Edmund its king was slain, the inhabitants were

* Sim. Dunelm. c. 21. Turner II. p. 123. † Simeon Dunelm. dates it 12 Kalendas Aprilis, which Turner renders the 19 of April; but in the Roman mode of computation it is the 21st of March.

almost exterminated, and the whole country was laid waste. Not long after, Bernicia suffered the same cruel devastation. The Northumbrians had expelled Ecgbert and raised one Ricsig to the throne; but in 875, Halfdene one of the Danish kings arrived with an army in the Tyne to complete the subjugation of Bernicia; and the same bloody tragedy which had been acted in the south of Northumbria was witnessed in the north. In the year following Ricsig died with grief for the calamities of his country, and another Ecgbert was advanced by the Danes to the nominal sovereignty.* Northumbria and East Anglia now became Danish kingdoms, the lands were divided by Halfdene and the other chiefs among their followers, the few Saxons who survived were incorporated with the new settlers; and when Alfred the Great, king of Wessex, recovered the southern provinces from the Danes in 878, he left them in full possession of these two kingdoms which they had colonized. There is reason to believe that a great proportion of the present inhabitants of Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, are sprung from Danish ancestors.†

Which of the sons of Ragnar was king of Deira, or whether it was appropriated to any one of them in particular, it is difficult to determine; for at one time we find Inguar (or Ivar) reigning at York, at another time Hubba, and lastly Halfdene. Upon the death

* Some think that the former Ecgbert was restored. † Chron. Sax. Sim. Dun. c. 21. Turner Vol. II. p. 124, 211, 212. Lel. Coll. I. p. 373.

of the last of these royal brothers in 882, one Guthred a Dane, the son of Hardicnut, was raised to the throne of Deira, while Ecgbert still reigned in Bernicia, and Guthrun was king of East Anglia.*

Guthred had a prosperous reign of 14 years, and was one of the few kings of Northumbria who died in peace. It is commonly supposed that upon his death the Anglo-Danes of Northumbria submitted to Alfred, as well as those who occupied East Anglia and part of Mercia;† but, though we learn from the Saxon Chronicle and other authorities, that they made some submissions to that prince and gave him hostages, it is obvious from the same authorities, that their submission was but momentary, and that instead of becoming the subjects of Alfred, they were in a state of hostility with him for several years, during his arduous struggles with the celebrated Hastings.

In what manner Deira was governed during the seven years which followed the death of Guthred is not certainly known. It was probably possessed by several petty kings or chiefs; for upon the death of Alfred in 901, Ethelwald, who was competitor with Edward the elder, being driven out of Wessex, was received with open arms by the Northumbrian Danes,

* Sim. Dun. c. 28. Chron. Sax. Turner II. p. 212.—Eowils is also mentioned as the colleague of Halfdene; and, according to many of the annalists, these kings reigned 26 years in Northumbria, and at last perished in a great battle fought at Wodnesfield, or Wilmesford, with the forces of Edward the elder about the year 910. Lel. Coll. I. p. 214, 218. II. p. 219, 399.—It is very difficult to ascertain the true history of this period, the accounts which the monkish writers have given us being so confused and contradictory. † Sim. Dun. c. 29. Lel. Coll. I. p. 329, 373.

who chose him for their sovereign, advancing him above their kings and chiefs.* His reign, however, was of short continuance; for having invaded the dominions of Edward, in the hopes of deposing him, he fell in a fierce engagement with the men of Kent A. D. 905; and Eohric (or Ethric) king of East Anglia, who had joined him in his enterprize, shared in his fate.† Yet the Anglo-Danes were not conquered; they rallied under new leaders, and gained the victory; so that Edward, harassed by their incursions, was glad to make peace with them.§ But they were too turbulent to remain long in peace. In a short time hostilities were renewed; and though Edward gained a victory over them in Northumbria, where he laid waste a great part of the country; though he overcame another of their armies at Totenhall in Staffordshire in the following year; and though he afterwards gained a third and more splendid victory at Wodensfield, (or Wilmesford) where their two kings Halfdene and Eowils (or Ecwils) fell, yet they still withstood his power, and maintained their independence. ||

* Super reges et duces suos ipsum regem et principem statuerunt. Lel. Coll. I. p. 214. † Chron. Sax. Lel. Coll. I. p. 214.—The chronicle quoted in this passage of Leland, calls the Danish prince who perished with Ethelwald *Egbright*. If Egbert (or Egbright) continued to reign in Bernicia till this time, which seems very doubtful, he may have accompanied Ethelwald in this expedition; but it appears certain that Ethric, the successor of Guthrun, also fell in the engagement.—See Lel. Coll. I. p. 407. § Chron. Saxon. || Chron. Sax. Lel. Coll. I. p. 195, 214, 218. II. p. 219.—Several of the ancient chronicles state, as was observed in a former note, that these two kings were the brothers of Ingvar and Hubba, and had reigned in Northumbria from the time when it was colonized by the Danes: but

Who were the next possessors of the Northumbrian throne, it is difficult to ascertain. In the close of Edward's reign it was occupied by Reginald, or Reingwald, the son of Guthfred a Danish king. This Guthfred was perhaps a different person from Guthred formerly mentioned; but the immediate predecessor of Reginald was Sithric* the son of Inguar, who having slain his brother Nigel, or Niel, incurred the general odium of his subjects; when Reginald, taking advantage of their disaffection, obtained possession of York, and of the kingdom. His claim to the crown appears, indeed, to have been as valid as that of Sithric; for the latter had taken possession of the throne upon the death of Guthfred, to the exclusion of Reginald his son and heir.†

It would seem that one Aldred, the son of Eadulf, was a king in Northumbria at the same time with Reginald: he probably reigned in Bernicia. Both these princes were constrained to pay homage to Edward, whose influence extended even to the Scots, and to the Strathclyde Britons.§

this cannot be admitted without setting aside a great part of the History of Simeon of Durham, and the accounts of other respectable writers, as fabulous. Perhaps this Halfdene was a son or nephew of the former. It must be admitted, however, that Simeon's history of this period is far from being correct.

* Called also Sidric, Sitric, Sigtryg, &c. † Sitricus ex Danico genere qui successit Guthredo. Lel. Coll. I. 374.—If this Guthred was the same with the Guthred formerly mentioned, Sithric must have reigned at the same time with Halfdene and Ecwils, and even Ethelwald. § Chron. Sax. Hen. Huntingd. Lib. V. Chron. Urivall, apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 194, 215. Sim. Dun. c. 31.

Reginald did not long enjoy the undisturbed possession of the throne; for the fickle and restless Northumbrians soon recalled Sithric, and reinstated him in at least a part of his dominions.* The power of the latter was greatly increased by an alliance with Athelstan, the son and successor of Edward, who gave him his sister Editha in marriage. But the happiness of Sithric was of short duration, for before the expiration of a year he was cut off by the hand of death. A short time before his decease he put away his wife, and renounced christianity which he had professed at his marriage. Athelstan, enraged at this affront, was preparing to chastise him; and upon hearing the news of his death, he advanced with an army and took possession of his territories. Anlaf and Godefrid, (or Guthfred), the sons of Sithric by a former marriage, fled before the conqueror; the former into Ireland, the latter into Scotland. Athelstan sent messengers in pursuit of Godefrid, and Constantine king of Scots was prevailed on to deliver up the fugitive; but he afterwards made his escape, and betook himself to a life of piracy.†

Athelstan having seized on Deira, from whence Reginald appears to have retired, (perhaps before the

* It is possible that Sithric when expelled from York and the neighbourhood, might still retain the sovereignty over a part of his dominions. Rapin supposes him to have reigned over Bernicia, while Reginald possessed Deira; but Aldred was the prince who then reigned at Bamburgh.—See Ridpath's Hist. p. 46. If Deira was divided between Reginald and Sithric, the latter had probably the western part for his share. † Gul. Malmes. apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 140, 141. Ibidem p. 414, 415. Ridpath p. 46. Turner III. p. 20, 21.

death of Sithric), Bernicia, where Aldred ruled, became an easy conquest; and as the Danish kingdom of East Anglia had been previously subdued, England was now for the first time united under one sovereign.* The kingdom of Northumbria had already at various periods been compelled to pay homage to the kings of Wessex; but it was only the homage which a small independent state is obliged to pay to its more powerful neighbours. It was now at last reduced to a state of complete subjection to that dynasty. The honour of being the first king of all England cannot with propriety be assigned to Egbert or to Alfred, under whom the kingdom of Wessex was raised to the first rank in the Heptarchy; any more than to Edwin or to Oswy, under whom a similar preeminence was acquired by Northumbria; but, whatever our historians have said to the contrary, that honour must be assigned to Athelstan. This memorable revolution took place about the year 927, the third year of Athelstan's reign.†

* Gul. Malmes. apud Lel. Collect. I. p. 374. Ibidem p. 414. Ridpath p. 46. Turner III. p. 21, 22. † See this subject well illustrated in Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, V. I. p. 367, 368, and V. III. p. 37, 38.—To this learned author, Mr. Winter and I have been greatly indebted. His laborious researches have thrown much light on a dark portion of the history of our country. Yet I cannot help expressing my regret, that his valuable work is written in a style so ill suited to the dignified simplicity of history. He has imitated the bombast of Gibbon, as well as his diligence; or rather, he exceeds him in the one as much as in the other. Sometimes he arrays the most serious subjects in a dress so fantastic as to excite ridicule; at other times the sense is buried under masses of tropes, so that it requires a considerable effort to discover it. The following specimen, taken from his account of the fables relating to the usurper Maximus, will shew that I am not misrepresenting him: "Armorica

But the conquests of Athelstan were far from being secure. The Northumbrians had enjoyed their independence too long to be prepared to surrender it without a struggle; and they bore with impatience the yoke that was imposed on them. Anlaf, the head of the exiles, had grown very powerful; having acquired a sovereignty in the north of Ireland and over part of the Hebrides, and having obtained in marriage the daughter of Constantine king of Scots. This monarch was jealous of the overgrown power of Athelstan; and could not but desire the restoration of the Northumbrian kingdom, that it might serve as a barrier to secure his own frontiers. The English king, aware of his hostile dispositions, resolved to anticipate him; being perhaps prompted by the ambitious desire of becoming the sovereign of all Britain. In the year 934, he invaded Scotland with a powerful force, both by sea and land, and laid waste a great part of the country; but he appears to

"has been colonized by his British Soldiers, and Cornwall has been "exhausted of its virgins to console them: but the enamoured spirit of "the waters interfered; some thousands of the female adventurers it "unreasonably monopolized to itself, and sent the residue to the Picts "and Huns at Cologne, to be virtuously murdered or conveniently "enslaved." Vol. I. p. 87.—It would have been difficult to find out the meaning of this passage, had not the author given a *translation* of it in a note, where we learn that it signifies in plain English, That, according to the fables alluded to, an immense number of the Britons who followed Maximus settled in Armorica, and being in want of wives, sent for a large supply from Cornwall; but while the females were on their passage, furious storms arose, by which the greater part of them were drowned, and the remainder were wrecked on the shores of the Picts and Huns, who murdered all of them who resolved to be virtuous, and enslaved the rest.—'Tis a pity that a work so respectable should have been disfigured by an excess of ornament. Historic truth is not honoured, but degraded, by such meretricious decorations.

have soon returned, without gaining any decisive advantage.* This insult could not fail to strengthen the enmity of Constantine, and prompt him to espouse the cause of his son-in-law with greater ardour. A powerful confederacy was formed, for the purpose of overturning the throne of Athelstan, or at least of wresting Northumbria from his grasp. With this view, an expedition was planned on an extensive scale, which must have been a considerable time in completing. Constantine and Anlaf headed the armament; and they were supported by Ewen king of Cumbria,† with several other petty kings from Ireland, Wales, the Scottish isles, and even from Norway. They arrived in the Humber with an immense force in 615 ships, and soon overpowered the troops that opposed their landing, and advanced into the country to meet Athelstan. That prince was aware of the approaching storm, and had prepared to face it with his wonted energy and courage. His army was numerous and well appointed, and was commanded by officers of distinguished bravery; among whom were his brother Edmund, and his chancellor Turketul; with Thorolf and Egils, two sea-kings, who headed a band of allies from the continent. The hostile armies met at a place

* Chron. Sax. Sim. Dun. c. 33. Lel. Collect. I. 374. Chalmers's Caled. I, 386, 387. † Cumbria was a small British kingdom, consisting of part of the present Cumberland, with some portion of the south of Scotland. It was conquered by Edmund a few years after, and given by him to the king of Scotland. The small British kingdom of Strathclyde, in the west of Scotland, continued to exist some years longer; when it was incorporated with Scotland. The little sovereignty of Galloway, in the same quarter, seems to have retained its independence for a longer period.—See Chalmers's Caled. I. p. 349—366.

called Brunanburg, probably not far from the banks of the Humber. Here was fought one of the most dreadful battles recorded in English history. It lasted from morning till night with various success; but victory at length declared for Athelstan, chiefly through the gallant conduct of Turketul, who performed prodigies of valour. The carnage on both sides was horrible; but especially on the part of the allies, who lost five kings and a number of princes and nobles, among whom was the warlike son of Constantine. Anlaf and Constantine made good their retreat to their ships, with the broken remains of their numerous army.*

This glorious victory, which was gained in the year 938, secured to Athelstan the possession of his conquests, procured him the homage of all the British states, and exalted his fame above that of any English monarch who had preceded him. The Saxon writers celebrated his praises in lofty strains, and the account of this victory in the Saxon Chronicle is one of the songs composed on the occasion.

But short-lived are the triumphs of mortals: in less than three years the glory of Athelstan sunk into the grave. The death of this great prince was the signal of revolt to the discontented Northumbrians, who immediately asserted their independence, and recalled Anlaf to occupy the throne. Reginald, it

* Chron. Sax. Sim. Dun. c. 33. Lel. Coll. I. p. 215, 330, 375. Turner III. 23—34. Chalmers I. 387, 388.—Some of the annalists state that Constantine and Anlaf fell in the engagement; but it is obvious from the best authorities that they both escaped.

would seem, returned at the same time; and so prompt and vigorous were the exertions of the Northumbrians under their new princes, that instead of waiting till Edmund the successor of Athelstan should attack them, they marched an army into the heart of his dominions, and after gaining two victories, compelled him to conclude a peace with them, on terms that were highly honourable to Anlaf; Edmund ceding to him all that part of England which lay to the north of Watling Street.* But as soon as Edmund had recovered from his alarm, and collected a sufficient force, he broke the treaty, retook a great part of the country which he had ceded, and expelled from Mercia those Danes who were called the Five Burghers,† who were ever ready to join their countrymen in all their incursions and insurrections. Another accommodation took place between Edmund and the Northumbrian princes; and to confirm the peace they both adopted a profession of christianity, upon which occasion they had Edmund for their sponsor.§ This peace, however, was not of much longer standing than the former; for in two years after (A. D. 944,) Anlaf and Reginald, who had probably been weakened by mutual quarrels, both yielded to the power of Edmund, and were driven

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 376, 523. Turner, III. p. 107, 108.—Watling Street was one of the great Roman roads which traversed Britain: it extended from Richborough on the east coast to Holy Head on the west. Richard of Cirencester, p. 111. † So called from their possessing the five cities of Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, Chron. Sax. § Chron. Sax.

from Northumbria, which was again incorporated with the rest of England.*

Upon the death of Edmund, A. D. 946, Northumbria was again in commotion; for the hope of independence excited that province to revolt from Edred. At first the disturbances were quelled, and marks of submission were extorted; but in 949 the

* Ibidem.—Most historians consider this Reginald as a different person from Reginald (or Reingwald) who reigned at York in the latter days of Edward the elder, supposing him to be a son of Guthfred the son of Sithric. But it appears from Henry of Huntingdon and other authorities, that Reginald the son of Guthfred, who obtained the kingdom of Deira, at the time when Sithric slew his brother Nigel, in the reign of Edward, and who is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle as one of the Northumbrian princes who did homage to Edward, was the same Reginald for whom king Edmund was sponsor at his baptism. Lel. Coll. I. p. 194, 215.—Besides, it does not appear that Guthfred whom Athelstan expelled from the throne of his father Sithric, had either wife or child; and if he could be supposed old enough to have a son capable of reigning within 13 years after his expulsion, it is likely that upon betaking himself to the life of a vikingr (or *sea-king*) he would take his son with him.

It is also a matter of dispute, whether Anlaf the hero of Brunanburg was the same with Anlaf the son of Sithric, who was expelled by Athelstan along with Guthfred; and whether the latter was the same with the Anlaf who was expelled by Edmund. According to the Irish Annals, Anlaf who fought at Brunanburg was the son and successor of Guthfred, king of the Danes in Ireland. Chalmers's Cal. I. p. 388.—This account is corroborated by one of our Chronicles which calls that Anlaf the son of king Guthfred (Lel. Coll. I. p. 330); yet it does not seem reconcileable with other authorities; and it is scarcely consistent with the story related by William of Malmesbury, that before the battle of Brunanburg, Anlaf (like Alfred) visited the English camp in disguise, and was recognised by a soldier who had served under him; for it is not likely that any of Athelstan's soldiers had served among the Danes in Ireland. In regard to the opinion, that Anlaf who made the advantageous peace with Edmund was not the same with Anlaf whom Edmund afterwards expelled, (Turner III. 106, 109.) I would observe, that though Hoveden and others have recorded the death of an Anlaf in 941, yet many other authors speak of the Anlaf who conquered Edmund as the same prince whom Edmund afterwards overcame, and the Saxon Chronicle expressly calls the latter the son of Sithric.

revolt assumed a more formidable aspect, the exiled Anlaf having returned to resume the Northumbrian crown. Anlaf was soon in a condition to withstand the power of Edred; but having become unpopular with his own subjects, they hurled him from his throne, and advanced one Eric, the son of Harold, to the royal dignity. The reign of Eric, the last of the Northumbrian kings, appears to have been as short as that of his predecessor. Edred invaded Northumberland in 954 with a large force, and having laid waste a great part of the country, was returning southward, when a party of the Northumbrians from York attacked and cut off the rear of his army, at Castleford. Enraged at this slaughter, Edred returned with the resolution of destroying the whole province; but the inhabitants, dreading his resentment, put away their king Eric, slew Amancus the son of Anlaf, another pretender to the Northumbrian throne, and made the most humble submissions to Edred. It would seem that Eric, supported by a number of friends and allies, made an effort to recover his lost dominion; but he perished in the attempt, and Edred having reduced the province to complete subjection, converted it into an *earldom*, and appointed one Osulf, an Englishman, the first earl of Northumberland.*

* Lel. Col. I. p. 124, 216, 375, 376, 523. II. 185. Turner III. p. 117, 118.—Mr. Turner states, upon the authority of Snorro and another northern historian, that Eric was a deposed king of Norway, and that he was made king of Northumberland under Athelstan in the latter part of that monarch's reign. I have sometimes observed in that author a partiality towards foreign authorities. It seems strange that all our annalists should have omitted so important a fact.

Thus was the Northumbrian kingdom finally abolished, after having subsisted under various forms, and with partial interruptions, for upwards of four hundred years. But the people had no cause to regret the change; for what they lost in consequence, they gained in happiness. So long as their country was the seat of regal power, it presented a scene of disorder and calamity; continually attacking or attacked, convulsed with civil broils, or scourged with foreign wars. A sovereignty so small is easily agitated, or overturned; and a stroke inflicted on any part soon vibrates through the whole. Two or three generations behoved to elapse, ere the spirit of turbulence, engendered by so many revolutions, could be expected to subside; but when we have passed through a few more changes and calamities, we shall at length reach the dawn of a brighter era, a period of tranquillity and comfort.

Nothing memorable is recorded of Osulf, the first earl of Northumberland. He had for his successor, and, as some say, for his colleague, one Oslach, with whom Eadulf had a share in the earldom; the province being divided into two districts * The title of *earl* was not in that age a mere title of rank but also of office. The earls of the counties, were the governors, or lord lieutenants. This district with most of the country which was formerly called Deira constituted the earldom of Oslach. This nobleman was banished in the year 975, about the

* Leland Coll. I. p. 125. Turner III. p. 178. Ridpath p. 50.

time of Edgar's death. He was probably a man of worth, for the Saxon Chronicle bewails his fate in plaintive language, and laments the troubles which caused his exile.

The next in the list of Northumbrian earls is Waltheof the elder: but as his residence was at Bamburgh, it would seem that his government was limited to the northern part of the province. His son Ucthred, however, having distinguished himself in an engagement with the Scots, over whom he gained an important victory, was advanced by king Ethelred to the earldom of all Northumbria; and, as a further reward of his prowess, he received the king's daughter Elgiva in marriage. It was in the time of this earl and his father Waltheof, in the year 1002, that England was disgraced by the barbarous massacre of the Danes; a crime which brought signal vengeance on its perpetrators, in the miseries soon after inflicted by the Danish invaders, who obtained for a time the sovereignty of England. That massacre cannot be supposed to have extended to Northumbria, East Anglia, and the north east parts of Mercia, where the great mass of the inhabitants were of Danish extraction; but was probably limited to those Danes who had recently settled in the southern counties.

In the year 1013, the Danes, who had previously infested the Northumbrian coasts as well as other parts of England, arrived in the Humber in great force under Swein their king, and encamped at Gainsborough on the Trent. Ucthred and his people

were compelled to do homage to this warlike prince, who presently got possession of the throne of England, through the weakness or treachery of its defenders; Ethelred, well named the *Unready*, making his escape into Normandy. After the death of Swein, Northumbria was involved in the struggles between his son Canute and Edmund Ironside the son of Ethelred; and on one occasion Edmund, when he was sore pressed by his adversary, took refuge with Ucthred his brother-in-law, and employed his forces against the Danish prince; but the Danes prevailing, through the perfidy of Edric Streon the infamous duke of Mercia, Edmund retired to the south, and Ucthred was constrained to submit to the invader; and when he went to make submission to Canute, he was slain by one Thurebrand a powerful Dane, by the orders, or with the connivance, of Canute, though the latter had given him assurances of safety.*

Canute advanced his friend Eric, a Norwegian prince, to the earldom of Northumberland; but removing him soon after, he conferred the dignity on Eadulf-Cudel, the brother of Ucthred. This earl was succeeded by Aldred, the son of Ucthred, who revenged his father's death by slaying Thurebrand; but the deed was retaliated by Carl the son of Thurebrand. Such deadly feuds subsisting between the families of the nobles, and producing frequent assassinations,

* Hovedun apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 125. II. p. 191. Gul. Malmes. apud Lel. I. p. 143. Ridpath p. 52, 53.—One of the bloody battles between Canute and Edmund has been placed by some writers near the Tees. Turner III. p. 262. Note.

may often be met with in the history of those times; but they furnish a dismal picture of the state of society, and of the government under which they occurred.*

Eadulf, the brother of Aldred was the next earl. He made an expedition into Wales, where he committed cruel devastations; but these deeds of violence were not long unpunished; for after his return, Hardicanute, who then filled the throne, commanded Siward to slay him, and to take possession of his earldom. Siward, who was of Danish extraction, was one of the bravest of the Northumbrian earls. He was of gigantic stature, and great military talents, and was in high favour with king Edward the Confessor; by whose orders he went with a powerful army into Scotland, to assist Macduff and his associates in destroying the celebrated tyrant Macbeth, and placing Malcolm on the Scottish throne. The expedition was crowned with complete success, but is said to have cost Siward the loss of his eldest son. He died at York in the year following, A. D. 1055; and it is noticed as a proof of his martial spirit, that when he felt himself dying of disease, he desired to be clothed in his armour, that he might die like a soldier. It would have reflected much more honour on his memory, had he been then humbling himself at the footstool of his Creator, before whose tribunal he was about to appear.†

* Lel. Coll. Ubi supra. Turner III. p. 283. † Lel. Coll. I. p. 125, 144, 196, 261, 379, 529. Sim. Dun. c. 44.

The earldom of Northumberland was bestowed by Edward on Tosti, the son of earl Godwin, and brother of Harold who became king of England. Tosti enjoyed his dignity for ten years: but his dispositions were so cruel, and his government so oppressive, that a body of the Northumbrians, headed by Gamelbearn, Glomern, and other chiefs, whose kindred he had murdered, attacked him at York, and slew a number of his adherents; and he himself narrowly escaped from their fury. Harold was sent with an army to quell the revolt; but the nobles representing to him the cruelties of his brother,* he was convinced of the justice of their cause: Morcar, the son of Algar duke of Mercia, whom they had chosen to be their earl, was therefore confirmed in his dignity; and the bloody Tosti retired into Flanders, to his father-in-law earl Baldwin.†

Upon the death of Edward, in the beginning of the year 1066, when Harold ascended the English throne, his brother Tosti, resolved to make an effort to supplant him, or at least to recover the earldom of Northumberland. Having collected an armament in Flanders, he sailed for the English shores; and after

* Harold himself was well aware of his brother's savage dispositions; for on occasion of a quarrel between them about the time when Tosti assisted him in plundering Wales, he repaired to his brother's house at Hereford, where the domestics were preparing an entertainment for the king, and having slain them all, he cut them in pieces, and put their mangled limbs into the vessels of liquor provided for the entertainment. Ridpath p. 57. Drake's Eboracum, p 82.—It is difficult to believe that even Tosti could be capable of such monstrous brutality. † Hovedun. apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 127, 128. Gul. Malmes. Ibidem p. 144, 145.—p. 529. Ridpath p. 56, 57.

plundering some parts of the coast, attempted to get a footing in Lincolnshire, to collect his friends. But earl Morcar, with his brother Edwin, earl of Mercia, hastened to oppose him; and Tosti, being defeated, fled into Scotland. Soon after, he joined Harald Harfagar, (or Hardrada) king of Norway, who also aimed at the crown of England; and their combined forces having assembled in the Tyne, sailed to Scarborough which they plundered and burnt, and from thence proceeded to the Humber. In the first engagement, Edwin and Morcar were defeated, and took refuge in York; but Harold having arrived with a large army four days after, a second and more dreadful conflict took place at Stamford bridge, near York, where Tosti and the king of Norway fell, with the greater part of their troops. This signal victory confirmed Morcar for a time in the earldom of Northumbria; but it was of small value to Harold, who perished twenty days after, Oct. 14, 1066, in the famous battle of Hastings, where William duke of Normandy gained the crown of England.*—This brings us to the third and last period of our General History.

* Chron. Sax. Lel. Coll. I. p. 128, 146, 530. II. p. 195. Ridpath p. 57, 58. Turner III. p. 356, 357, 366—372.

CHAP. III.

Anglo-Norman, or English Period.

WHEN we review the period of barbarism through which we have waded, the incessant revolutions and tumults which have been recorded, and the frightful scenes of bloodshed and desolation which have been described, the mind must feel greatly relieved in anticipating an era of order and repose. Such an era begins to approach, but it is not yet arrived. The ill-fated province of Northumbria, and that part of it in particular which is the more immediate object of our researches, has still to experience concussions the most violent, and desolations the most deplorable, before it can enjoy a settled state of tranquillity.

Earl Morcar and his brother Edwin were in London soon after the battle of Hastings, and endeavoured to interest the Londoners in their behalf, to prevent the crown from falling into the hands of duke William; but, finding their efforts ineffectual, they retired to their provinces, and afterwards submitted to the conqueror, who suffered them for the present to

retain their honours. William was aware that their submissions were but feigned; and when he visited Normandy in the following year, he took them and other nobles along with him, to secure the peace of the provinces which they governed. Soon after their return, Edwin and Morcar, offended at the insolence of William and his Norman barons, and perceiving that he designed to crush the English nobles, and to divide their honours and estates among his retainers, determined on making another struggle to preserve the liberties of their country. With this view, they engaged the assistance of Blethin, prince of North Wales, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Sweyn, king of Denmark; but before their plans were matured, William with his usual promptitude and vigour, anticipated their hostility, and not only compelled them to renew their submissions, but confiscated the lands of several of their followers, which he distributed among his foreign adventurers. About this time, A. D. 1068, Edwin and Morcar seem to have retired into Scotland, where prince Edgar Atheling with his mother and sisters, and several of the English nobility, also found an asylum at the court of king Malcolm, who married Margaret, the eldest sister of Edgar.*

During these troubles, Northumbria seems to have had several earls. Besides Edwin† and Morcar, we read of Merther and Welthers, who are called

* Gul. Malmes. apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 145. Matth. Paris, p. 4, 5. Ridpath, p. 59, 60. Hume's Hist. I. p. 245, 246. † Edwin was earl of Mercia, but he afterwards shared in his brother's earldom; as appears from Domesday, and from William of Malmesbury.

earls of the Northumbrians.* Morcar, too, in the beginning of his government, gave the earldom of the country north of the Tyne to Osulph, the son of Eadulf a former earl. William, dissatisfied with this appointment, removed Osulph, and conferred his earldom on Copsi the uncle of earl Tosti. This Copsi had considerable property in Cleveland, for he gave some lands in Marsk, Toccotes, and Guisborough to the church of St Cuthbert at Durham.† But his honours were of short duration; for when he had held the earldom about five weeks, he was slain by Osulph, whom he had supplanted. The latter perished in the same year by the lance of a robber; when the earldom was sold by the king to Cospatric, the grandson of earl Ucthred.

In the year 1069, king William gave the earldom of Morcar to Robert Cumin, a Norman baron, who took up his residence at Durham with a force of 700 men;§ but his tyranny and cruelty brought upon him the vengeance of the Northumbrians, and he and his followers were cut off to a man. In the mean time the indefatigable brothers Edwin and Morcar prepared once more to attempt the deliverance of their country. Having engaged the kings of Scotland and Denmark to support them, they arrived in the Humber with a large force in 300 ships, and immediately proceeded for York; having with them Edgar

* Matth. Paris, p. 4, 5. † Hovedun. apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 125, 126. Sim. Dun. c. 49. § Some accounts say 900. Matth. Paris, p 5.

Atheling, the rightful heir to the crown of England. Mallet who commanded the Norman garrison in the castle of York, hearing of their approach, set fire to some houses adjacent to the castle, which he thought might be of service to the enemy in attacking it; but the devouring element spreading into the streets, reduced the whole city to ashes: and the invaders arriving presently after, the enraged inhabitants joined them in storming the castle, and the whole garrison to the number of above 3000,* except the commander and one or two more, was put to the sword. Earl Cospatric with the Northumbrians joined in this revolt, which soon assumed the most formidable aspect, and was the signal for insurrection in other parts of England.†

Enraged at the repeated revolts of the Northumbrians, William swore that he would exterminate them utterly; and marching with a potent army towards York, began to put his barbarous threats into execution. By means of bribes and promises, he succeeded in detaching from the revolters their Danish allies, commanded by Osbern the brother of Sweyn, and Harold and Canute, the sons of that monarch, who returning to their ships, left the Northumbrians to the mercy of the conqueror. Cospatric, alarmed at his danger, made submission to William; and was allowed to retain his earldom for a season. Waltheof, son to the celebrated earl Siward, defended the castle

* According to some the number exceeded 4000. Lel. Coll. I. p. 380. † Ibidem p. 530. II. p. 196. Hume, I. p. 249, 250. Ridpath, p. 61.

of York against the king's forces with great bravery, and at last surrendered upon honourable terms. Edgar Atheling, with Siward, Merleswain, and other nobles, again made their escape into Scotland. But while some of the combatants submitted to William's clemency, and others escaped from his power, the defenceless inhabitants of the province became the victims of his fury. York was razed to the ground as a nest of rebellion, and its citizens were destroyed by fire and sword; and the same bloody tragedy was acted throughout the whole country, from York to Durham, from the Humber to the Tees; with the exception of the patrimony of St. John of Beverley. The district around Whitby must have felt with peculiar severity the effects of this work of carnage and desolation; for William having heard a report that the Danes were returning under Canute the son of Sweyn, commanded that the sea coasts should especially be laid waste, that the enemy might find neither plunder nor subsistence. These dismal ravages are described by the authors of that age in affecting terms: "A fertile province, the nursery of kings, was destroyed by fire, and rapine, and slaughter; the ground to the extent of more than 60 miles* lay wholly uncultivated; nothing but the bare soil appeared for many years. When the stranger now views the towns that were once famous, the towers that reared their tops to heaven, the lands that smiled with pastures and were watered with streams, he heaves a

* Equal to 90 of the present English miles.

sigh: and if any of the ancient inhabitants survives to see the ruined country, he cannot recognize it. For nine years, a great part of the province was uninhabited; and if in some parts any inhabitants were left, they suffered such a dreadful famine, that they were forced to subsist on the flesh of horses, dogs, and cats, nay, to feed even on human flesh."*

But the measure of vengeance appointed for this devoted province was not yet full. Another tremendous scourge awaited the miserable remnant of the Northumbrians. Scarcely had some parts of the country begun to recover the shock, when Malcolm king of Scotland, who had come, when it was too late, to make a diversion in favour of his brother-in-law Edgar, entered the province from Cumberland which was a part of his dominions; and proceeding down the Tees, ravaged the whole country, as far as Hartlepool on the one side, and the extremity of Cleveland on the other. Whatever had escaped the fury of William fell a prey to the rapacity of Malcolm. And though earl Cospatric, who ruled in the north, retaliated by plundering a part of Cumberland, and then shut himself up in his fortress of Bamburgh; this only inflamed the rage of Malcolm who laid waste the north district, as he had done the south, and carried into captivity almost all the inhabitants whom he did not destroy; insomuch that for some

* Gul. Malmes. apud Lel. Coll. I p. 146. Ibidem, p. 380, 630. II. p. 196, 197. Sim. Dun. c. 50. Hume, I. p. 251, 252. Drake's Ebor. p. 90, 91.

years after, there was scarcely a family in Scotland which had not an English slave.*

Such dire calamities, repeatedly inflicted on this ill-fated province, present a melancholy picture of human depravity. The heart sickens at the view of these scenes of wretchedness: it seems strange that man can be so barbarous to man. Yet it is some consolation to reflect, that this is the last disaster of the kind which we are called to record The history of the district will still occasionally exhibit commotions, troubles, and partial devastations, but we shall no more find it depopulated and ruined.

In the following year (1071), the celebrated Edwin and Morcar, with several Saxon nobles, made a last effort for the recovery of their power; but this enterprize only accelerated their final ruin. Upon the failure of their attempt, Edwin was slain through the treachery of his own followers, while he was fleeing into Scotland; and Morcar, having taken shelter for a time in the marshes of Ely, with several of his confederates, was at last compelled to surrender to William, who kept him in prison during a great part of his reign.†

Among the associates of Edwin and Morcar was one earl Siward, surnamed Barn,§ who had

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 381, 382. II. p. 196, 355, 631. Ridpath, p. 60. † Hovedun. apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 128. II. p. 192. Ridpath, p. 63. § *Barn*, *bearn*, or *bairn* signifies the *child*. This Siward was so called to distinguish him from the celebrated Siward, who was surnamed *Digera*, the *great*, or the *giant*. Some writers make *Barn* the name of another chief, and not the surname of Siward; but he is expressly called by Hovedun "Siwardus cognomine Barn."

accompanied Edgar Atheling in his flight into Scotland, and now shared the fortunes of Morcar, Hereward, and other nobles in the marshes of Ely. This Siward, who was perhaps a relation of the great Siward, had the title of *earl*, probably on account of his possessing a large portion of the earldom of Northumbria.* We find from *Domesday*, that he was proprietor of Whitby, Sneton, and their dependencies, including Fyling, Ugglebarnby, Stakesby, and Newholm; and also possessed the manor of Lofthouse, with that of Acklam and Ingleby, and their several dependencies; among which were lands at Hinderwell, Boulby, Easington, Liverton, Marsk, Upleatham, Lazenby, Lakenby, Guisborough, and other places in Cleveland; besides his large estates in various other parts of Yorkshire.† It is generally supposed that Siward Barn, with Morcar, Roger, and several other noblemen, continued state prisoners till the close of the conqueror's reign, when the dying monarch commanded them to be liberated:§ but it is more probable that the greater part of them were set at liberty several years before, for these three earls are among the witnesses to a charter of William bishop of Durham, dated at

Lel. Coll. II. p. 198.—The same surname is annexed to other names; for instance it is added to Gamel in Gamel-bearn. Perhaps the word *bearn*, when so used, should be rendered *the younger*, or *the son*.

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 416, 417. II. p. 198. Matth. Paris, p. 6.

† Bawdwen's Translation of Domesday, p. 64, 65.—The learned editor, in a note, confounds this earl Siward with the great Siward; but the possessions of the latter would no doubt descend to his son Waltheof, and must be the lands described in this invaluable record as having belonged to Waltheof. § Rapin I. p. 190. Hume I. p. 280.

the ancient nobility from places of power and trust, and to confer their dignities on his Norman lords. Upon this plan he began to act at an early period of his reign, a measure which gave rise to frequent plots and insurrections on the part of the degraded English; and these attempts proving unsuccessful, gave occasion to numerous confiscations, and thus accelerated the evil which they aimed to prevent. Hence, in less than ten years, almost all the property and influence in the kingdom were transferred to the Normans.

Upon the fall of Waltheof, the earldom of Northumberland underwent a singular change, being purchased from the king by Walcher, bishop of Durham, one of his foreign favourites. This ecclesiastical earl is said to have been a well disposed man himself, but he has been compared to Eli, the Jewish high-priest; for, by conniving at the excesses of his relations and dependents, he brought himself and them to a tragical end. Some of his officers carried on a system of oppression, extortion, and rapine, which excited universal discontent throughout the province; and when these deeds of iniquity and violence were crowned with foul murders, the spirit of dissatisfaction was inflamed into fury and revenge. Liwulf, or Ligulf, a Saxon nobleman of great reputation, who had lands at Ugthorpe, Normanby, and Kildale, and great possessions in other parts of Yorkshire,* retired to Durham to avoid the insults of the Normans, and lived there on the best terms with

* Domesday, p. 17, 225, 74, 76, 82, &c.

the bishop: but Leofwin and Gilbert, the chaplain and nephew of Walcher, envying the worth and influence of this distinguished nobleman, basely conspired against him and slew him. This barbarous murder roused the indignation of the Northumbrians, and being headed by one Waltheof, a kinsman of the deceased, they attacked and slew the bishop and the murderers, with about a hundred of their friends and retainers, at Gateshead on the banks of the Tyne. Odo the king's brother, who was chief justiciary, was sent with a force to punish the insurgents; but instead of seeking the ends of justice, he sought rather to gratify his avarice and cruelty, by plundering and destroying indiscriminately the innocent and the guilty.*

After these troubles, which occurred in 1080, William appointed one Alberic, or Albrius, a foreigner, to succeed Walcher in the government of Northumbria; but finding himself unequal to the arduous task, he resigned his office and retired into his own country. The earldom was then given to Robert de Mulbray, or Mowbray, a powerful Norman baron. This earl is celebrated for cutting off Malcolm Ceanmore, with his son Edward and a great part of his forces, in 1093, when that king was ravaging Northumberland the fifth time. Malcolm was slain near Alnwick, by

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 126, 128, 129, 332, 383, 384. II. p. 199, Sim. Dun. c. 58, 59. Matth. Paris, p. 9.—This last author charges Walcher himself, as well as his servants, with shameful avarice and cruel extortion; and we may easily believe that he who bought the earldom with money would study to make money by it.

the hand of Morell, a kinsman of earl Robert; but whether he fell through treachery or open force, is a subject of dispute. About two years after, Mowbray entered into a conspiracy against William Rufus, in favour of Stephen, that king's cousin: but, the plot having miscarried, the earl, after much resistance was taken at Tinmouth; and being stripped of his power and possessions, was cast into prison, where he languished for thirty years.*

This nobleman appears to have been the last earl of Northumberland who had any authority over this district. After his imprisonment, the earldom remained for a time in the hands of the king; and the subsequent earls do not seem to have had any jurisdiction in Yorkshire. Indeed, it may be doubted whether Mowbray and one or two of his predecessors, had any dominion south of the Tees, except in their own personal estates; for about this time we find a viscount of York, an earl of Holderness, an earl of Moreton, &c. having governments in Yorkshire; and they seem to have held their authority immediately from the king. It would therefore be foreign to our purpose, to trace the succession of Northumbrian earls any further, or to give an extended view of the affairs of a province, now divided, by a wise policy, into so many separate jurisdictions. Let us rather in the sequel of our *General History*, confine our attention to that district which is the more immediate object of research.

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 126, 168, 169, 305, 332, 376, 385, 631. II. p. 200, 229, 318. Sim. Dun. c. 63. Matth. Paris, p. 16, 17. Ridpath, p. 69—72.

The celebrated record entitled *Domesday* throws much light on the state of this district at the time of the conquest, and for twenty years after. It is a survey of all the lands in England, drawn up by orders of William the Conqueror, with a view to ascertain the state of his dominions, and to impose a tax on every hyde, or plough, of land then in tillage. The survey was begun about the year 1081, and finished in 1086.* Here are registered the names of all the wapentakes, manors, berewicks, &c. in each county, with the quantity of land belonging to each manor, berewick, or lesser division; the names of the proprietors in the days of king Edward the confessor, immediately before the conquest, with those of the proprietors at the time of the survey; the value of the lands at the one period and at the other; the number of churches and mills, with a variety of other interesting particulars. For the satisfaction of the curious, the greater part of what relates to this district will be given in the Appendix.† But, it may be proper, in this place, to present the reader with a few observations, calculated to elucidate the history of the district at this memorable era.

The arrangement of the lands in Domesday is by no means the most perspicuous; for they are not placed according to their local situation, but according to the rank of the proprietors in each county; the lands of the king being placed first, then the lands of

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 262. II. p. 199. Mat. Paris, p. 10. Hume, I. p. 275, 276.—The tax is said to have been six shillings for every hyde. † See Appendix No. I.

the archbishops, bishops, and abbots; and afterwards those of the earls, barons, knights, and thanes: and hence, as some of the proprietors had manors in various parts of the county, the same ground is gone over again and again, before they are all enumerated. The inferior landowners, however, who held their estates under the great proprietors, have not separate sections assigned them, but are classed under the lords of the manors of whom they held. This intricate arrangement occasions some difficulty in discovering what places are named in Domesday, and what are not to be found; and may be viewed as the principal cause of the numerous mistakes on this head which have occurred.*

It is worthy of remark, that the names of almost all the original proprietors in this district, and in the greater part of Yorkshire, appear to be Danish; which is only what might be expected, when it is considered that, in the time of Alfred, the whole of this part of England was colonized by the Danes, by whose cruel ravages the former inhabitants had been extirpated. I have already mentioned among the proprietors in this district, at the time of the conquest, Siward, Cospatric, Merleswain, and Ligulf. Of the remaining proprietors the following may be particularly noticed. Suain possessed the manors of Lyth, Mulgrave, Hutton-Mulgrave, Egton, Goldsborough,

* Charlton states that no mention is made in Domesday of Whitby or Presteby, and Graves makes the same remark respecting Lythe and Barneby. It will be seen from the extracts given in the Appendix, that all these places are noticed in it.

Mickleby, and Borrowby, with several other places in the neighbourhood; his estates nearly coinciding with those of the present earl Mulgrave. Uctred was lord of Seaton, both Moresomes, Kilton, Brotton, Skelton, Toccotes, and Kirkleatham, with some other places in Cleveland. Uchil had lands at Guisborough, Ayton, and the neighbourhood. Leising had considerable possessions in the same quarter; where also Ulchil, Haward, Norman, and several others held manors. The chief proprietors about Kirkby-Moorside, Lestingham, and that vicinity, were Gamel, Orm, and Torbrand. The lands of Orm extended into the vale of the Esk, for he was possessor of Danby, Lealholm, and other places in that quarter. The respectable manor of Walsgrave, with its numerous dependencies, belonged to earl Tosti; and the still more extensive and valuable manor of Pickering, was the property of earl Morcar.

Among the names of these original proprietors we find several that are composed of two names, or of one simple name and a syllable or epithet annexed to it: a remark which is applicable to the Danish or Saxon names in other counties as well as in Yorkshire. Thus Ulf, Tor, Brand, Chil, Suuen, Asi, &c. are simple names, which we find compounded in a great variety of forms, the last letter in Ulf, Asi, and some others, suffering an ellipsis when they are placed first. Thus Ulf and Chil form Ulchil, Asi and Chil make Aschil, Tor and Chil=Torchil, Tor and Ulf=Torulf, Tor and Brand=Torbrand, Chil with the epithet

Bert=Chilbert, Merle and Suuen=Merlesuuen; to which numbers of instances might be added. Where two names are thus united, the one would seem to be the name of the father, and the other that of the son; but I cannot pretend to say which is placed first. For instance, Torulf may either mean Tor the son of Ulf, or Ulf the son of Tor.*

It is no less observable that a great proportion of the names of places in this quarter seem to be derived from those of their proprietors, who either held them at the conquest, or at a more distant period. Thus Ormesbi is the village or dwelling of Orm; Normanebi, the dwelling of Norman; Chilton, the town of Chil; Ughethorp, the village of Ughe; Ugleberdebi, the dwelling of Uglebert.† The word most frequently used in these names to denote village or habitation is *bi* or *by*, which at this day retains the same signification in the Scandinavian languages. It is easy to assign a reason why so many places in this district have been called after the names of men. When Halfdene and the other chiefs parcelled out the lands among their followers, the greater part of the original names being lost with the inhabitants, new names behoved to be imposed on the lands or townships; and nothing could be more natural than to distinguish them by the names of their occupiers. Thus in North

* The names of the Border warriors were distinguished in a similar way many ages after, the name of the father being prefixed to that of the son; as in "Adam's Johnny," "Willie's Rob," &c.

† On the etymology of the names of places in the district several additional observations will be offered in a future part of the work.

America, where lands have been portioned out as the rewards of military service; they generally bear the names of those to whom they were allotted.

Besides the places which are designated by the appellation *bi*, dwelling, *tun*, town, *thorp*, village, *borg*, burgh, or *ham*, home or residence, there are others in this district and its vicinity which are distinguished by the term *grif*. Various meanings have been assigned to this term, which in the modern names is written *grave;* but that which is given by Mr. Marshall appears to be the true one. He defines *griff* to be "A dingle; or a narrow valley, with a rocky fissure-like chasm at the bottom"* A town or village situated near a dingle of this description, was therefore so named. Mulgrif,† which in Domesday is simply called Grif, is an instance in our immediate neighbourhood. Another Grif, near Rivaux abbey, still retains its name; and Stanegrif, now Stonegrave, is in the same quarter. Besides these, there was Walesgrif, now called Walsgrave, or more frequently Falsgrave; and Hildegrif, so named from lady Hilda, not far from Hackness.

It is a remarkable fact, that there are few places of any note in this district which are not mentioned in Domesday, and on the other hand there are few of the names of the places noticed in that survey which are altogether lost; so that by far the greater part of

* Rural Economy of Yorkshire, Vol. II. p. 323. † The childish story in Camden about *Moult Grave*, will be afterwards noticed. It is obvious that Mulgrif, or Mulegrif, must have derived its name from one Mul or Mule, a name which occurs frequently in Domesday.

the names of the towns, villages, and hamlets in the district, are more than 750 years old. The principal, and indeed almost the only exceptions, are the towns along the shore, Scarborough, Robin Hood's Bay, Runswick, Staiths, and Redcar. The omission of Scarborough seems unaccountable, as historians inform us that Tosti in one of his expeditions landed at Scarborough, and plundered and burnt it.* I have not access to the authorities which Turner quotes in support of this fact; but I strongly suspect that Scarborough properly so called did not then exist; and that the historians, living after Scarborough was built, applied the name by way of anticipation to Walesgrif, which, it will be remembered, was Tosti's own manor.

In examining Domesday, nothing can strike us more forcibly than the complete revolution of property which had taken place throughout the whole of this part of Yorkshire, between the close of Edward's reign and the time of the survey. Through the effect of attainders, and other means, the old proprietors had all been dispossessed, and their lands transferred into the hands of the Normans. Upwards of 50 manors in this district were retained by the king in his own possession, including the extensive manors of Pickering and Walesgrif, with all or most of the estates of Cospatric, Ligulf, Lesing, and several others. The lands of earl Siward, including the valuable manor of Whitby, with its dependencies,

* Turner's Hist. III. p. 366.

Dr Young, in this conjecture, appears to be mistaken as Scardeburga is mentioned by Thorkelyn, as existing in See the Northumbria.

and the manors of Hinderwell and Loftus, were conferred on Hugh de Abrincis, surnamed Lupus, earl of Chester, the conqueror's nephew; under whom William de Percy held Whitby and the lands belonging to it. The estates of Suuen, Uctred, and others, were given to Robert earl of Morton; under whom one Nigel held most of the lands of Suuen, and one Richard Surdeval most of the lands of Uctred. The lands of Gamel and Torbrand were chiefly granted to Berenger de Todeni. William de Percy received estates in Fyling, Hinderwell, Marsk, Kirkleatham, (then called Westleatham), Cloughton, Hackness, Ayton, Seamer, &c. which had belonged to Norman, Carle, and others; but he had far more extensive possessions in other parts of Yorkshire. Hugh the son of Baldric obtained the lands of Orm. Several of the smaller estates in Cleveland were given to the king's thanes, among whom however the names of Orme, Uctred, and one or two more of the old proprietors are found; from which it would seem, that while they were stripped of their large estates to enrich the Norman adventurers, a few of them had a small pittance allowed them for subsistence. Yet none of them were suffered to retain any part of their own estates, except Uctred who held two carucates of his lands at Rousby under the earl of Morton, Orme who retained a part of Ormesby, and Archil who continued to hold Marton in Cleveland; in addition to which it must be observed, that the other Marton near Kirkby-Moorside is almost the only

other place in the district that did not change masters during this great revolution, being part of the patrimony of the archbishop of York; who also obtained from Ulf* and Gamel, about the time of the conquest, some lands at Barf, Nawton and other places on the confines of this district. As the bishop of Durham is not found among the proprietors in Cleveland, it appears that the lands which earl Copsi gave to the church of Durham at Marsk, Toccotes, and Guisborough,† had either been exchanged, or alienated in some other way from the patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

The lands of Robert de Bruis, (or Bruce), including some possessions at Guisborough, Ormesby, and other parts of Cleveland, where he afterwards became so rich and powerful, are added in an irregular and abbreviated form by way of appendix to the general survey; the return from his estates not having been given in to the commissioners in sufficient time to have it entered in the regular form.

It may be remarked, that the richest manor in this quarter in the time of Edward the confessor, was that of Whitby, which with its dependencies was valued at £112. The next in value was Pickering, which was estimated at £88. Walsgrave was valued at £56; and Loftus at £48. Most of the other manors are entered at a very low rate. Lyth, Mulgrave, Hutton Mulgrave, Egton, Mickleby, and Brotton

* The valuable donations of Ulf to the church of York are well known. The horn which he presented at the altar, in token of his resigning his lands, is still preserved among the curiosities in York Minster. † See page 70.

were valued at only ten shillings each! It must be observed however, that the value assigned them is not what they might be supposed to sell at, but what they produced to the revenue.

But however low the valuation of the lands in the days of king Edward may appear, their value was vastly reduced at the time of the survey. Domesday is a lasting monument of the sad effects of William's desolating fury. Fifteen years had elapsed since he laid waste the whole coast with fire and sword; yet even at that distance of time the greater part of the country was little better than a desert. Multitudes of manors are given in as waste and of no value; and the reduction in the value of the rest is almost incredible. Whitby is estimated at only 60 shillings, Walesgrif at 30 shillings, Pickering at 20 sh. 4d: but the depreciation of Loftus was still greater, for it was valued at nothing! All the lands of the earl of Morton are given in as waste, except Lyth which is valued at 5 sh. 6d, Seaton, which is rated at its old valuation, viz. 10 sh.; and Brotton, Skelton, Guisborough, and other places in the plain of Cleveland, which, though of some worth, were all greatly depreciated. The quantity of waste land in the district was enormous, and the reduction in the number of sokemen, villanes, and others employed in the cultivation of the lands was proportionably great.

Indeed the population of the country must have been but scanty, even in the reign of the Confessor; as may be inferred from the vast extent of the forests

with which it was then covered. The woodlands in Whitby manor were 7 miles long by 3 broad; those in Hutton-Mulgrave 3 miles by one; in Ugthorp 2 miles by one; in Borrowby and Rousby the same extent; in Egton 3 miles by 2; in Danby and its vicinity 3 miles by 3 miles: but the most extensive forest was that of Pickering, which was no less than 16 miles in length, and 4 in breadth.

The very small number of churches and mills returned in the survey, furnishes another token of the reduced state of the population. In the whole district we find no more than eight mills: viz. one in Whitby manor, probably that at Ruswarp; one at Guisborough; another at Stokesley; one at Ayton, near Hackness; another at Brompton; one at Dalby, near Lockton; and two at Kirkby Moorside, viz. one in the manor of Torbrand, and another in that of Orm. It is probable however, that hand mills were then in frequent use.

The number of churches in the district was just double that of the mills. On the Cleveland side of Whitby, there was a church at Seaton, near Hinderwell; another at Easington, but without a priest; and one at Kirkleatham, at Guisborough, at Kildale, at Ayton, at Stokesley, and at Ormesby, besides one in the manor of Acklam and Ingleby, on the confines of the district. On the other side of Whitby, there was a church at Seamer beyond Walsgrave; another at Brompton; two at Kirkby Moorside, one of which was in the manor of Torbrand, and the other in that

of Orm, which last was in all probability the church of Kirkdale; and there were no less than three in the manor of Hackness, where, however, there was but one priest. It is singular that Hackness and its vicinity should have three churches, while no notice is taken of any church at Whitby or at Lestingham: and it is no less remarkable, that six carucates of land at Hackness are described as the land of St. Hilda, while no possessions are allotted her at Whitby. The lands of Presteby and Soureby in Whitby manor, which are no doubt the same which William de Percy gave to Reinfrid and his fraternity, are stated as held of William by the abbot of York, who also held under Berenger de Todeni some lands at Lestingham, Spaunton, and Kirkby-Moorside, together with the church at Kirkby. This abbot of York is the same person who is called Stephen of Whitby, who superseded Reinfrid in the government of the convent at Whitby, and having differed with William de Percy removed the convent to Lestingham, from whence he and his charge afterwards migrated to York, where they founded the abbey of St. Mary's under the patronage of earl Alan. It seems that even after he became abbot of St. Mary's, Stephen was still considered as the holder of the lands at Whitby and Lestingham, which had been given to him and his community before his removal to York. As the lands of St. Hilda were then situated in Hackness, it is highly probable that during the removals of Stephen with a part of the convent of Whitby, Reinfrid with

the remaining part settled at Hackness; and, this being their head quarters, it is not impossible that in the returns from this manor they might give in the vacant churches of Whitby and Lestingham as belonging to their community, and that these may be the two churches without priests mentioned in the survey. To this subject it will be necessary to recur in the history of the monastery of Whitby. At present I would only add, that as the survey of this district was not made till after the removal of Stephen to York, and his settlement there as abbot of St. Mary's, which took place near the close of the Conqueror's reign, it is obvious that this part of England must have been among the last that were entered in Domesday; indeed the circumstance already noticed concerning the entry of Robert de Bruce's lands, may warrant a belief that this was the very last portion of the country surveyed by William's commissioners.

Having thus, by the help of this invaluable record, taken a view of the state of this district at the time of the conquest, and for twenty years after, it might be interesting to proceed to inquire, by means of charters and other documents, into the various changes and revolutions of property which have since occurred; but such an inquiry would not only be attended with considerable difficulty, but would lead us beyond the limits which must be assigned to this part of the work. Some of the more remarkable changes will be afterwards noticed in a topographical sketch of the district, and others may be seen from

the papers which will be given in the Appendix. It may be necessary, however, in this place, shortly to advert to one grand revolution of property which took place not long after the conquest, and which was productive of the most important consequences;—the conversion of a large proportion of the lands in this district into church property.

At the time when Domesday was drawn up, there were no lands in this district belonging to the church, except six carucates at Hackness which were the lands of St. Hilda, three carucates at Marton in the vale of Pickering, belonging to St. Peter of York, together with six carucates at Presteby and Soureby in the manor of Whitby, and a few possessions at, or near, Lestingham; which last, viz. the lands at Whitby and Lestingham, were scarcely considered as church property, being held by the abbot Stephen as a vassal or tenant, under the lords of these manors. But before a century had elapsed, the whole of Whitby Strand, and a great part of the lands in Cleveland, in the vale of Pickering, and in other parts of the district, were devoted to the support of monasteries and churches; and this sacred property at last accumulated to such an extent, as to leave but few secular possessions in this part of Yorkshire.

This extensive *spiritualization* of property, was in some respects highly detrimental to the interests of the community, as it threw a much heavier load of public burdens and services on the remaining temporal estates, and greatly diminished the strength of the

kingdom; yet in other points of view it was very beneficial. The monks, though generally termed *idle*, were industrious in the cultivation of their lands. It is observable that, at the general survey, the only lands in Whitby manor that were not waste, were those which the abbot Stephen held; and his possessions about Kirkby-Moorside, already mentioned, had increased in value, while other lands were so much depreciated. The respect that was shewn to church property, afforded ecclesiastics great advantages for the improvement of their estates;—advantages, of which they in general knew well how to avail themselves. Hence, extensive tracts of land, which had lain desolate amidst the conflicts of kings and the feuds of barons, were brought into cultivation; and places which had often felt the horrors of famine, now smiled with plenty. An increase of the means of subsistence would naturally produce a corresponding increase in the population; especially as the ecclesiastical territory was in a great measure secured from the ravages of war. We are therefore come to a period which, in respect of outward comfort, is far superior to any that preceded it in the annals of this district; and, as a natural consequence, we shall find few events occurring in this quarter, that require to be recorded: for those ages which are the happiest for mankind, supply the least matter for the pen of the historian.

The barons in this district acquired much renown in the celebrated battle of the *Standard* fought in

1138 near Northallerton; where David king of Scots, who had espoused the cause of the empress Maud in opposition to Stephen, and was committing dreadful ravages* in the north of England, sustained a signal defeat. The Yorkshire forces were headed in that memorable engagement by William le Gros, earl of Albemarle and Holderness, the founder of Scarborough castle; and all the barons, among whom were Walter L'Espec, Robert de Brus, Roger de Moubray, William de Percy,† and Robert de Stuteville, behaved with great bravery.§

In the long and bloody wars begun by Edward I, and continued by Edward II, to accomplish the subjugation of Scotland, several of the barons of this district took an active part. Henry de Percy, the ninth in descent from the first William de Percy, was appointed keeper of the country of Galloway and sheriffdom of Air; while his uncle John de Warrene, earl of Surrey, was the guardian of Scotland under Edward I. ‖ Indeed, the famous Robert de Brus, who secured the independence of Scotland by the decisive victory which he gained over Edward II at Bannockburn in 1314, was a lineal descendant of the first Robert de Brus of Skelton, by Robert his second son;

* The cruelties attributed by Matthew of Westminster to this royal *saint* are scarcely credible: "In ultionem enim imperatricis, cui idem rex fidelitatem juraverat, mulieres gravidas findebant, fœtus anticipatos extrahebant, parvulos super lancearum acumina projiciebant, presbyteros super altaria trucidabant."—Mat. Westm. Lib. II. p. 36.
† Grandson to the founder of Whitby abbey. § Mat. Paris, p. 73. Rapin I. p. 203. Ridpath, p. 82, 83.—Some accounts assign the command to Walter L'Espec. ‖ Ridpath, p. 201, 202.

from whom, through the line of the Stuarts, the present royal family of Great Britain are sprung; but before that time, the elder (or Cleveland) branch of the family had ended in female heirs.* Christopher Seton, who was lord of the manor of Seton in this district, married Christina the sister of king Robert, whose cause he warmly espoused; but he and his brother John, having fallen into the hands of Edward I, were both executed. The manor of Seton was conferred by Edward on Edmund de Mauley, son of the third Peter de Mauley of Mulgrave, who had distinguished himself in the Scottish wars: yet Edmund did not long enjoy his possession, for he fell in the battle of Bannockburn.†

The barbarous ravages which the Scots about this period committed in England, in revenge for the cruelties which they had suffered from Edward in his infamous attempts to enslave them, were little felt in this retired quarter. Twice the invaders spread desolation as far as Hartlepool; at another time they set fire to Scarborough; and in a subsequent expedition, king Edward narrowly escaped from them at Byland abbey, where they took a part of his retinue, with all his plate and money.§ They do not, however, appear to have penetrated into the interior of this district; not that they had any respect for the territory of St Hilda, any more than the English had for the patrimony of St. Andrew, or other saints in the

* Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 449, &c. † Ibidem, article *Mauley*. Mat. Westmin. II p. 461. Ridpath, p. 229, 246. § Lel. Coll. I. p. 250, 466, 474, 550. Ridpath, p. 240, 249, 259, 271, 272.

north; but because this country was less inviting than the more fertile parts of Yorkshire, to which therefore they directed their plundering course. Indeed the remote situation, and mountainous nature of this district, gave it so much security that, during these troubles, the inhabitants of some parts that were more exposed, were directed to drive their cattle into Cleveland as a place of safety.* Cleveland, however, was not wholly exempted from depredations at that period; for besides the visits which some parts of it received from the Scots, it was much injured by a gang of banditti, who, under the command of Gilbert de Midleton, then infested the north of England. These robbers, taking advantage of the confusion of the times, were so daring as to attack and plunder the bishop of Durham, his brother, and two cardinals, when on their way to Durham with a considerable retinue; they even took possession of a number of castles in Northumberland, and held a great part of the country in subjection: but they were at last dispersed, and Midleton their leader was apprehended and executed.†

A little before the incursions of the Scots, the peace of this district was disturbed by the struggles of those contending factions, which so frequently agitated England in the reign of Edward II. That weak prince had brought his favourite Peter de Gaveston, earl of Cornwall, to Scarborough Castle, to save him from the indignation of those powerful

* Ridpath, p. 270. † Lel. Coll. I. p. 272, 548. Ridpath, p. 266.

noblemen whom his insolence had disgusted. Here, after the king's departure, Gaveston was besieged by the earl of Pembroke, Henry de Percy, and others, who forced him to capitulate; and he was afterwards beheaded by the earl of Warwick at Blacklow near Warwick, in direct opposition to the king's authority, and to the terms of capitulation. Thomas earl of Lancaster, who was at the head of this confederacy, had Pickering Lyth among his extensive possessions.*

The cruel wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, could not fail to affect this district in common with the rest of England; but it was not the scene of any of the tragical events of that frightful period; it only felt the shock at a distance.

This corner of England was more nearly concerned in the insurrections occasioned by the suppression of the monasteries, in the reign of Henry VIII. A measure which affected the interests of so many thousands in the district, could not fail to produce the most lively sensations. Its effects were chiefly felt about Pickering and Scarborough; especially at the latter, where a party of the insurgents laid siege to the castle in 1536, but were bravely repulsed by the governor, Sir Ralph Eure. Next year, their attempts were renewed, but in a short time the insurrection was quelled without much bloodshed, and several of the ringleaders were brought to justice.†

* Lel. Col. I. p. 461, 546. Ridpath, p. 240. Rapin, I. p. 391. Baker's Chron. p. 106, 107. † Baker's Chronicle, p. 285. Hinderwell's History of Scarborough (4to) p. 49—52.—Lord Darcy, Sir Francis Bigott, Sir Thomas Percy brother to the earl of Northumberland, Robert Aske, Sir John Bulmer, with several abbots, &c. were at the head of this insurrection, called, *The Pilgrimage of Grace.*

The convulsions which shook England, during the bitter contest between Charles I and his Parliament, were severely felt in some parts of this district; but chiefly at Scarborough, where the castle was more than once taken and re-taken, and, under the brave Sir Hugh Cholmley, sustained a long and arduous siege. As a memoir of this enterprizing knight will be given in the biographical department of the work, it will not be necessary to enlarge on these transactions here; especially as they are minutely detailed in Mr. Hinderwell's valuable History of Scarborough.

Since that period, the peace of this district has suffered no material interruption. The rebellions in 1715 and 1745, which troubled the north and west of England, excited no commotion here. On both occasions the loyalty of the inhabitants was conspicuous; especially in 1745, when liberal subscriptions were made for raising the means of defence. The only disturbances that arose were such as proceeded from what may be called an excess of loyalty; being expressions of the public feeling against such as were suspected of favouring the pretender. The following extract of a letter from Stokesley, dated Dec. 27, 1745, and inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1746, may serve to illustrate the spirit which then prevailed:

"Last Tuesday a number of Stokesley boys pulled some tiles off Mr. Pearson's Mass-house, the damage of which might amount to 11s. The papists could not see their place of worship thus insulted, without

resenting it; therefore got a warrant from Mr. Skottowe against one of the boys (a sailor) who had been the most active in the affair. The constables apprehended the boy the next day; upon which his associates were called together to the number of about 300, and being joined by some young fellows, marched in order (with drum beating and colours flying) to Mr. Skottowe's, and declared to him that they all acknowledged themselves equally guilty with the boy charged with the fact. Mr. Skottowe could not forbear laughing at them; however, after giving them a gentle reprimand, he dismissed them, recommending it to the papists to put up with the damage. Upon this the boys went to Ayton, beating up for volunteers for his Majesty's service, and enlisted about 30 or 40 boys; then marched to Stoksley cross, fixed their colours upon it, and made large coal-fires about it, the spectators all wondering what were their intentions to act next. When they had completed the fires they marched in a full body to the Mass-house, got upon it, stripped off all the tiles, and beat down the cieling; from thence they let themselves down into the chapel, pulled it all to pieces, and tossed the things out of the windows into the yard, where they had placed a guard to secure them: when they had got every thing out, not even sparing the doors and wainscot, they marched with their booty to the Market-cross, and set the things around the fires; then one of them put on a fine vestment and cap, with a mitre in his hand, and mounted the cross, called them all around him,

and made them a speech, in the conclusion of which he told them, that in consideration of the great service they had done to their king and country, in destroying the Mass-house that day, he presumed, from the great authority he was then invested with, to absolve them from all their past sins, but exhorted them for the future to lead a peaceable and godly life; upon which they gave a great huzza, *God save king George, and down with the Mass*; then he put off his robes, and threw them into the fire; at the same time each hand was employed in burning the rest of the things, laid ready for the flames; after which they dispersed, and went to their respective homes."

Similar riots, but in a more serious form, took place about the same time at Sunderland and other parts.*

After the suppression of the rebellion, a few of the rebels fled into this quarter for concealment; and it was at one time believed, as some old people relate, that the young pretender himself was concealed here. Sir David Murray was apprehended at Whitby, as he was endeavouring to make his escape in disguise, and was tried and condemned at York; and two others were afterwards apprehended at Scarborough.† The immense number of executions which then took place did no honour to the government of that time, any more than the carnage and devastation which followed the battle of Culloden. Some public examples were

* See Gentleman's Mag. Vol. XVI. (for 1746,) p. 40, 42.
† Ibidem, p. 523. and Vol. XVII. p. 589.

necessary; but, as the rebellion had been completely suppressed, justice might have been satiated without so much blood When the poor wretches were slaughtered by scores, in that butchering form appointed by the law of treason, the feelings of indignation at their crimes would be almost extinguished amidst the stronger feelings of compassion for their sufferings. Several of the victims of justice might, if spared, have become loyal and useful subjects.*

Upon the whole, this portion of England has now for a long season been blessed with a state of tranquillity and happiness, far superior to what it has experienced a any former era. The calm that was enjoyed during the reign of monachism, was the dead stillness of slavery and ignorance; and though that period was vastly preferable to the ages of blood and horror which it succeeded, it can bear no comparison with the present age of freedom, light, and comfort. May the happiness of the district, and of Britain at large, continue and improve under our excellent constitution and mild government; and descend with increase to future generations!

* In proof of this it may be stated, that when John Balantine who was tried at York, was acquitted, the poor fellow, in a transport of joy, threw up his bonnet to the very roof of the court, and cried out, "My lords and gentlemen, I thank you! Not guilty! Not guilty! Not guilty! I pray God bless king George for ever; I'll serve him all the days of my life:" and immediately running out into the castle-yard, with his irons on, took up a handful of channel water, and drank his Majesty's health.—Gentleman's Mag. for 1746, p. 524.

BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE ABBEY OF STREONESHALH, OR WHITBY; WITH A SKETCH OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE DISTRICT.

CHAP. I.

Introduction of Christianity, and of Monastic Institutions.

IT is not easy to ascertain, at what era the inhabitants of this country first exchanged the rites of paganism for the ordinances of Christ, or by whose ministry the blessings of christianity were introduced. The antiquities of the church are involved in as much obscurity as those of the state; and the historian, in investigating them, discovers numerous fables but few facts. To inquire into the authenticity of the traditionary tales respecting the visits paid to Britain by Paul or Peter, by Simon Zelotes or Joseph of Arimathea, would be to insult the understanding of the reader. Even the story of the conversion of Lucius, a British king, about the middle or end of the second

century, though related by Bede, Nennius, and other reputable authors, is extremely suspicious; or rather it bears positive marks of forgery.*

When we recollect with what rapidity the religion of Jesus spread through the world, and consider the active zeal of the primitive disciples; we can have little doubt, that among the soldiers, or other subjects of the Roman empire, who settled in Britain in the second century, or even in the close of the first, there must have been several christians, and that some attempts might be made in that early age to convert the natives. We have authentic accounts of the existence of christianity in Britain in the third and fourth centuries, among the British as well as the Roman inhabitants;† but by whom it was propagated, to what extent it spread, and whether it reached unto this district or not, are inquiries which it is impossible to answer. Of one thing we are certain, that whatever progress the christian religion may have made in this district during the Roman period, every vestige of it was swept away by the irruptions of the Picts, and of the Saxons, and idolatry resumed its gloomy sway. Hence Gildas, in painting the miseries of his country, laments the destruction of the priests, the churches, and the altars, by the ravages of the sacrilegious Saxons.§

While the gospel was banished from the eastern shores of England by the invading Saxons, it was still

* See Henry's Hist. I. p. 135—139. † Ibid. p. 140—149.
§ See also Bed. Hist. Eccl. L. I. c. 15. Mat. Westm. I. p. 160.

preserved among the remains of the Britons in the west; as well as in some parts of Ireland, and also of Scotland. But the churches which remained in the British isles seem to have made no attempt, for a long season, to introduce the religion of Jesus among the savage invaders. It was by missionaries from the church of Rome that the Saxons were first brought to embrace christianity. The marriage of Ethelbert king of Kent with Bertha, the daughter of the French king Cherebert, opened a way for the propagation of the gospel among the Saxons; that lady having stipulated for the free exercise of her religion, and brought a chaplain with her from France. Some years after, Gregory who was then bishop of Rome, and who had felt a lively concern for the unenlightened Saxons before his elevation to that dignity, sent Augustine with a number of other monks into England, to labour for the conversion of the pagan inhabitants. These missionaries arrived in Kent, A. D. 596, and being favourably received by Ethelbert and his queen, had great success in their labours.*

It was not till about thirty years after, that the gospel found its way into Northumbria, and the occasion of its introduction into that kingdom was similar to that which first brought it into Kent. Edwin, the Northumbrian king, married Ethelburga the daughter of king Ethelbert; and, previous to the marriage, he pledged himself not to molest that lady and her

* Bed. L. I. c. 23—26, L. II. c. 1. Mat. Westm. I. p. 202, 203. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 9, 10, &c.

attendants in the observance of their religion, and even held out a hope that he would embrace it himself. Accordingly, when Ethelburga arrived at the court of Edwin, in 625, she was accompanied by Paulinus, a minister who had laboured twenty four years in Kent, and who came with the queen in the character of a bishop. For almost two years, however, he seems to have been merely her private chaplain; at least his labours for the conversion of the Northumbrians had little or no effect. It was long before Edwin could be prevailed on to relinquish the gods of his fathers. He indeed consented to the baptism of his infant daughter Eanfled, who was baptized on Whitsunday in 626, with eleven others of his family, and was the first in Northumberland who received that sacred rite; and some time after he desisted from the worship of idols; but it was not till Easter in the following year that he openly embraced the religion of Jesus.

In addition to the labours of Paulinus, and the influence of the queen, various circumstances are said to have concurred in leading to the conversion of Edwin;—his narrow escape from assassination, when he was saved by the generosity of Lilla; his success against his adversary, Cwichelm king of Wessex; but above all, a remarkable vision which he is stated to have had when he was an exile at the court of Redwald, the consequences of which were his preservation from imminent danger, and his subsequent elevation to the Northumbrian throne. But the visions, revelations, and miracles, recorded by Bede and other

monkish writers, I shall in general pass over. Like the machinery in an epic poem, they may serve to embellish the narrative; but they are of little use to the inquirer after truth. That the Almighty might employ signs and wonders for the establishment of his gospel in England, as well as for its propagation in Judea and the east, cannot be denied; but such preternatural phenomena would require to be attested by better authority than that of the writers of these dark ages. The miracles which they relate occur in such prodigious numbers, many of them are so ridiculous, or obviously fabulous, and others of them introduced for ends so unworthy of the Deity, that, without incurring the charge of scepticism, we may well be allowed to view the whole with a suspicious eye.

The numerous epistles of popes and prelates which are inserted in these early histories of the English church, constitute another embellishment of a similar kind; and may be compared to the speeches which Livy and Tacitus have put into the mouths of their generals and public characters. Some of these documents are manifest forgeries, though a part of them may have been manufactured so early as the times of Bede. In this number may be included the letters of Boniface to Edwin and Ethelburga, intended to accelerate the king's conversion. From these letters, particularly that addressed to the queen, we must suppose that the pontiff had not only got intelligence of the marriage, but had learned that Ethelburga had been for a considerable time exerting herself

without effect for the conversion of her husband. But when I consider the length of time that must then have been required for a journey to Rome, and observe that the marriage was celebrated about the beginning of August, and that Boniface died on the 22d of October following, and was probably disqualified for epistolary correspondence some time before, I feel myself warranted to question the authenticity of these letters.* Still more suspicious is the epistle of pope Gregory to Augustine about the ordination of twelve bishops under the see of London (or Canterbury,) the appointment of a metropolitan bishop for York with twelve bishops under him, and the regulations to be observed in regard to their rank. Can it be supposed that Gregory, in 601, would speak of Augustine as bishop of London, while the gospel had not reached to London, and while Canterbury was the metropolis of Ethelbert's kingdom? Could he foresee that Northumbria would be the next kingdom to receive christianity,† though it was at a greater distance from Kent than any other kingdom of the heptarchy? Or what could induce him to fix on York as a metropolitan see, at a time when that place was

* See Smith's Bede, p. 89. Note.—The epistles are found in Bede under the year 626, *the year after Boniface died:* Smith merely transfers them to the former year; but had he weighed the circumstances above noticed, he might have seen cause to explode them altogether. The date of Edwin's marriage may be inferred from that of Paulinus's ordination, which is dated 12 *Kalend. Aug.* i. e. the 21st of July; and a week or two must have intervened between that transaction and the royal nuptials. Bed. L. II. c. 9, 10, 11.

† Essex where the gospel was preached by Augustine and his associates was then viewed as a part of Ethelbert's dominions. Bed. L. II. c. 3.

almost too obscure to be known at Rome? I strongly suspect that the epistle was fabricated after London and York had risen to greater eminence, and after the squabbles about precedency had begun to make their appearance among the English prelates.*

Whatever were the causes which produced a change in the sentiments of Edwin, he was at last convinced of the excellence of christianity, and, after much deliberation, determined to adopt it. Yet, before embracing it publicly, he held an assembly of his nobles and counsellors, in the hope that he would prevail with them to concur in his resolution. Their concurrence was easily obtained. As soon as the assembly had convened, and the subject had been proposed by the king for discussion, Coifi, his high-priest, who was no doubt acquainted with the sentiments of his royal master, rose and addressed him to the following effect; "It becomes you, O king, to inquire into the nature of that religion which is now proposed to us. In regard to that which we have hitherto held, I solemnly declare, that I have found it altogether worthless and unprofitable: none of your people has been more devoted to the service of our gods than I; yet many receive from you more ample

* Bed. L. I. c. 29. My suspicions are confirmed by the curious fact that this epistle is not found in the M.S.S. copies of Gregory's writings. See Wilk. Conc. I. p. 15. Note.—The use of the *pallium*, or episcopal robe received from the pope, is another subject of this strange letter. We find in Bede a letter from pope Honorius to Edwin where the same subject is introduced; and it is observable that that letter must have been written eight months after Edwin's death! See Smith's Bede, p. 98, 99, 100. It is also worthy of remark, that all these letters, and a great many more, are omitted in Alfred's Bede.

favours, and greater honours, and prosper more in all their undertakings. If the gods had any influence, they would surely give the greatest share of their favours to their most zealous servant. Wherefore, if the new doctrines, which are preached to us, appear to you upon examination to be better and more certain, let us hasten to embrace them without delay."

To this speech of the high-priest, another of Edwin's grandees presently assented in these remarkable words; "So short, O king, is the present life of man on earth, compared with that extent of time which is hid from our view, that it seems to me like the sudden flight of a sparrow through your house, when you are at supper with your generals and ministers in a winter evening, and the hall is heated by a fire in the midst, while furious storms of rain or snow are raging without. It comes in at one door, but presently goes out at another; and though it feels not the wintry tempest when within, yet it enjoys only a momentary calm while it passes from winter on the one side to winter on the other, and then disappears from your eyes. Such is the life of man; it appears for a little space, but what follows it, or what has preceded it, we cannot tell. If, therefore, this new doctrine presents us with something more certain it ought by all means to be adopted."

While others expressed their concurrence with these sentiments, and none appeared to oppose them, Coifi requested that Paulinus should now discourse to them more fully about the God whom he preached;

and, when the bishop had finished his discourse, the high-priest exclaimed; "Long have I been convinced that our worship is vanity, since the more I sought for the truth in it, the less I found it: but now I openly profess, that by this preaching, we clearly discover that truth which can give us life, salvation, and eternal felicity. I therefore propose to your majesty, that we hasten to profane those temples and altars which we have foolishly venerated."

Upon this the king openly renounced idolatry, and professed his adherence to the faith of Christ. Then turning to Coifi, he asked him, who ought first to profane the altars and temples of the idols. "I," replies the high priest, "for who is more proper than myself to set the example to others, in destroying, through the wisdom granted me by the true God, the things which I have worshipped in my folly?" And immediately renouncing idolatry, he begged the king to give him arms and a horse, both of which it was unlawful for him to use, according to the rules of their superstition; and, Edwin having complied with his request, he mounted the horse, and with a sword by his side, and a lance in his hand, he rode to the idol temple at Godmundham, not far from the king's palace on the Derwent, where this assembly appears to have been held. Upon reaching the scene of his former idolatries, he threw his lance into the building, in order to profane it, and in token of defiance to the idols whom it contained. This was the signal for its destruction; for those who accompanied him,

following his example and his orders, presently burned it to the ground.*

Edwin and his nobles, having thus forsaken the idols of their fathers, and received the christian faith, were soon after baptized by Paulinus. It was on Easter day, A. D. 627, that the king was baptized at York, in a small wooden oratory or chapel, which had been constructed during the time that was spent in catechizing and instructing him, previous to his baptism.† In the same place a square church of stone, of larger dimensions, inclosing the oratory within it, afterwards began to be erected; but Paulinus never enjoyed it, for it was not finished till the reign of Oswald. That magnificent fabric called York Minster, which was erected many ages after this period, is supposed to stand on the spot where this square church was built.

The example of Edwin, as might naturally be expected, had a powerful influence on his family and subjects. His sons by Quenburga, his former wife; his niece, the celebrated Lady Hilda, whose life demands a conspicuous place in the history of Streoneshalh; and great numbers of his people, of all ranks, were received into the church by baptism. When the court removed for a time into Bernicia, Paulinus accompanied it, and was there employed at the river Glen for thirty six days together, in instructing and

* Bed. L. II. c. 12, 13. † Rapin tells us that Edwin was baptized the same day on which the assembly met; (Vol I. p. 70) but his narrative of these transactions abounds with inaccuracies, some of which have been copied by Charlton and others.

baptizing the crowds who resorted to him. In the province of Deira, where the royal family more frequently resided, he was engaged in the same work on the banks of the river Swale. Here multitudes flocked to him for instruction and baptism; and some authors tell us that he baptized no less than ten thousand in one day. We would hope, for the credit of this apostle of Northumbria, that this story is false; especially as Bede repeatedly intimates, that he instructed and catechized the people before he baptized them: yet there is reason to fear that, like Augustine the apostle of Kent, he was sometimes more concerned about the number than the quality of his converts; a circumstance which accounts for the facility with which they relapsed into idolatry.*

The zeal of Edwin was not satisfied with the propagation of the gospel among his own subjects, it prompted him to aim at the conversion of his neighbours. He persuaded Eorpwald, king of the East Angles, to embrace christianity. He even took a journey into Lincolnshire, with his bishop Paulinus, for the purpose of propagating the gospel; and these missionary exertions were not unsuccessful. The

* Bed. L. II. c. 14. Hen. Hunting. L. III. par. 3. I am surprised to find Charlton (p. 7.) ascribing the story of the baptism of 10,000 in one day to Bede. There is no such thing mentioned either by Bede, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, or Matthew of Westminster; though the charge of indiscriminate baptism may be inferred from what the latter says of the success of Paulinus's labours, "That in a short time there was not an heathen to be found in all the kingdom."—Mat. West. I. p. 217. The baptism of 10,000 at one time in the river Swale is attributed by some to Augustine.—Smith's Bede, p. 95. Note.

governor of Lincoln, and several of the inhabitants, were converted by the preaching of Paulinus; and a handsome church of stone is said to have been built in that city; where, we are told, Paulinus ordained Honorius to the episcopal charge of Canterbury, then vacant by the death of Justus.*

But the arduous labours of this apostle of the north were soon interrupted, and his fair prospects blasted, by the lamented death of his patron. When Edwin fell in 633 by the sword of Penda, and the Mercians and Britons broke into Northumbria with worse than pagan fury; Paulinus, with the queen and the surviving members of the royal family, fled by sea into Kent, where he became bishop of Rochester; and the good work which he had begun in the north was almost entirely obliterated. Many of the converts to christianity were slain by the barbarous invaders, and the greater part of the rest relapsed into those idolatries from which they had been but imperfectly reclaimed.†

In estimating the nature and extent of Paulinus's labours, we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by names. He is termed *bishop*, and even *archbishop;* but we read of no clergy whom he had under him, no assistant of any kind, except James a deacon. He brought no fellow labourers with him from Kent, received no assistance afterwards either from thence

* Bed. L. II. c. 15, 16, 18. Hen. Hunt. L. III. par. 3, 4. Mat. Westm. I. p. 217. † Bed. L. II. c. 20. III. c. 1. Hen. Hunt. L. III. 4. Mat. West. I. p. 220.

or from the continent, as far as I can discover; and, when his departure is announced, no mention is made of any ministers whom he took with him, or of any whom he left behind him; except the said James, who laboured for a considerable time, partly at York, but chiefly at Catterick, where a faithful remnant of christians was preserved through his ministry. The number of churches in his *diocese* was in proportion to the number of preachers. There was neither church nor chapel in the whole of Bernicia; for Bede assures us that till Oswald set up the cross at Heavenfield, there was no church, no altar, no token of the christian religion, erected in that province.* In Deira too we read of no church then in existence, except the oratory at York, and another wooden church near the king's residence at Campodunum.† Paulinus indeed preached in many other places; but, like the primitive apostles, he was a field-preacher, ministering frequently by the banks of rivers. His most constant employment seems to have been that of chaplain, or preacher, to the royal family; for to whatever place the court removed, he removed along with it; and we scarcely read of his making any excursion, without the company of Edwin.

Whether Paulinus ever visited our district or not, it is difficult to say: we have no account of his extending his labours in this direction. It is indeed a common opinion that a church was built at Streoneshalh in the days of Edwin, about the year 630; but

* L. III. c. 2. † L. II. c. 14.

to this opinion I cannot subscribe. The only foundation upon which it rests is a passage in Bede, where in enumerating the relatives of Eanfleda, interred in the monastery of Streoneshalh, he places Edwin her mother's father among the number;* and if Edwin was buried there, it may be presumed that a church existed in that place previous to his death. I have no hesitation, however, in asserting, that in this passage either Bede, or some of his transcribers, must have made a mistake. Bede himself informs us, that when Edwin was killed in the battle of Hethfield, his whole army was either slain or routed;† that the province was presently filled with carnage and desolation by the barbarous conquerors; and that, in regard to Edwin, his head was brought to York, where it was afterwards taken into the church of the blessed apostle Peter, which he himself had begun, but which Oswald finished, and was deposited in the porch of St. Gregory.§ Is it not clear from this narrative, that the body of Edwin was left on the field of battle,

* In quo monasterio et ipsa, et pater ejus Osuiu, et mater ejus Aeanfled, et pater matris ejus Aeduini, et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri sepulti sunt. L. III. c. 24.—The same thing is indeed stated by Henry of Huntingdon and Matthew of Westminster; but they evidently copy from Bede. † Ejusque totus vel interemptus vel dispersus est exercitus. L. II. c. 20.—Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew of Westminster give us the same account of the slaughter that attended and followed the death of Edwin, and of the interment of his head at York; for indeed they have copied in this, as in many other passages, the narrative of Bede. § Pope Gregory on account of his piety and miracles was venerated as a saint. Among his famous exploits, we are told that, by his prayers and tears, he delivered the soul of Trajan from the pains of hell, where it had been above 600 years! Mat. Westm. I. p. 207, 208.

his surviving soldiers having no opportunity of carrying away any more of his remains than his head? If his body was afterwards found and carried off by his friends, which at such a period of disaster and alarm was very unlikely, can we suppose that they would convey it to the eastern extremity of the kingdom, to a spot which Edwin is never said to have visited, instead of interring it at York along with his head? Besides, it may be inferred from the remarks of Bede in the passage where he mentions the church of Campodunum,* that, except that church and the church at York, there was no other erected in Deira in the time of Edwin. Indeed, when we consider that there was not one church built in all Bernicia, it is utterly incredible that one should be erected in this solitary spot, which at that period was scarcely inhabited. It may also be observed, that in the accounts of the erection of the monastery at Streoneshalh, no notice is taken of any church having existed there before; nay, the contrary may be inferred from the narrative; and Edwin is not said to have been buried in a church that was previously constructed, but in that which was built by Lady Hilda herself.† If therefore any part of Edwin's remains was interred at this place, we must suppose that, after the monastery was erected, his head was, at the desire of

* L. II. c. 14. † L. III. c. 24. IV. c. 23.—Drake buries the *body* of Edwin in the *monastery* of Whitby; forgetting that the *monastery* had no existence till several years after his death. Eboracum, p. 72.

Ælfleda, or some other relative, removed from the church of York, to be deposited in that of Streoneshalh.

Osric and Eanfrid, the immediate successors of Edwin, both apostatized from christianity, with most of their subjects. But Oswald, the conqueror of Cadwallon, restored the blessings of the gospel to Northumbria. We are told, that immediately before his engagement with the British king, he erected a wooden cross at Heavenfield, near the Deniseburn, as a token of his reliance on Christ; and that he and his followers, several of whom were christians who had come with him from Scotland, kneeled down beside it, and prayed to the Almighty to give them the victory over their proud and cruel foe.*

When Oswald was established in the throne, it was one of his first cares to have his people instructed in the true religion; and, having been educated and baptized among the Scots, who had then a flourishing monastery in the island of Iona, founded by the celebrated Columba,† he sent thither for a supply of preachers. His request was readily complied with; but, it seems, the first missionary§ who arrived was a man of an austere disposition, who finding his ministry

* Oswald held up the cross with his own hands, while his soldiers fastened the foot of it in the hole that had been dug to receive it. A miraculous virtue was ascribed to the chips that were cut from this cross, and even to the spot where it stood. Bed. L. III. c. 2. † Bede takes notice of a singularity in the government of the church in that part of Britain, that the whole province, and even the bishops, submitted to the abbot of Hii (or Iona,) who, in imitation of Columba, was only called a presbyter. L. III. c. 4. § Hector Boethius calls him *Corman*.

unsuccessful, returned to his fraternity in disgust, and told them that the Northumbrians were too untractable and barbarous to be taught. When the brethren at Iona held a council to receive his report, and to consider what was to be done, one of their number named Aidan thus addressed the disappointed missionary; "It seems to me, brother, that you have been too severe on your unlearned hearers; and have not studied, according to the apostle's plan, to feed them with milk, before giving them strong meat." By this remark, Aidan attracted the attention of all the assembly, and they unanimously fixed on him, as the most suitable person to undertake the mission. The expectations that were formed of him were not disappointed. In the character of bishop of Northumbria, he laboured with great diligence and success, under the patronage of Oswald; and this prince was so zealous for the propagation of the gospel, that, until Aidan had learned the language of the country, he often acted as his interpreter; a task for which he was well qualified by his long exile among the Scots.

Encouraged by the prospects of success, Aidan invited a number of his brethren and countrymen,* to assist him in the work; that the progress of the gospel might be accelerated, and that the natives might not, in case of any accident happening to

* Exin cœpere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Brittanniam, &c. Bed. L. III. c. 3.—It would seem that some of them came from Ireland, which was then the proper region of the Scots; and was at that time an enlightened country, much resorted to by the lovers of learning. Ibid. c. 7, 19, 27. Vita S. Cudberti, c. 22.

himself, be left, as at the removal of Paulinus, like sheep without a shepherd. In imitation of his friends at Iona, he chose a small island for his head-quarters; the island of Lindisfarne, now Holy Island, not far from Bebbanburgh (or Bamburgh,) the capital of Bernicia. From thence this apostle, and his fellow-labourers, made excursions into various parts of the dominions of Oswald, preaching the word of truth with great fervour, and administering baptism to such as believed. Churches were built in several places, the people came in crowds to hear the word, and both old and young were instructed in the doctrines of religion.*

Aidan is represented by Bede as a man of extraordinary piety and goodness, whose worth far exceeded any thing that could be found in the historian's own times. With the greatest meekness, piety, and prudence, he displayed unremitting zeal, and indefatigable diligence. Eager in the exalted pursuits of his office, he disregarded the things of the world: what he received from the rich, he gave to the poor. The amiable king Oswin made him a present of one of his best horses, richly harnessed; but, meeting with a poor man asking alms not long after, he dismounted, and gave him his horse; and when Oswin blamed him for this seemingly indiscreet generosity, he replied, "What? my king! Is the offspring of a mare dearer

* Bed. L. III. c. 3. From this passage it appears, that the account which Matthew of Westminster gives us of Paulinus's success, quoted in a former note, is greatly exaggerated.

to you than that son of God?" An answer with which that worthy young prince was much affected.* Aidan was indeed the friend of the poor, the father of the wretched: several slaves were redeemed by him, some of whom he received as disciples, and educated for the ministry. While he was condescending to the poor, he was bold in reproving the vices of the great. Greatness and luxury had no charms for him: even when he was at the royal table, he took but a moderate refreshment, and then hastened away to his studies, or his prayers: and though he was deemed a fit companion for princes, he was so far from affecting external pomp, that almost all his numerous and fatiguing journeys were performed on foot.

The associates and successors of Aidan, according to our historian, possessed the same spirit. Their dress and their food, their churches and their houses, bespoke the humility and simplicity of their minds. They neither aspired at power, nor collected wealth; and the possessions which they received were, in a manner, forced on them. Their whole care was to serve God, not the world; to provide for the improvement of the heart, not the gratification of the appetite. At home their time was chiefly spent in study and devotion; abroad they were engaged in preaching, baptizing, visiting the sick, and in short, doing every thing in their power to save the souls of men; for

* In the *General History*, (p 27,) I have inadvertently called the place where Oswin was murdered *Yedingham*. The name in Bede is *Ingetlingum*, which is thought to be *Gilling* near Richmond; and not Yedingham on the Derwent. See Smith's Bede, p. 117. Note.

which purpose they often itinerated among the villages. And though they had neither mitre, nor crosier, nor *pallium*, nor any other trappings of clerical pomp, their superior worth commanded that real respect which grandeur without piety solicits in vain. Every Lord's day, multitudes flocked to the churches, to hear the word of God from their mouth. Wherever any of their number went, he was joyfully received as a servant of God; if he was travelling on the road, such as met him or observed him, hastened to beg his blessing and his instructions; and if he came to a village, the inhabitants presently assembled, and desired to hear the word of life.*

Such were the men by whom christianity was now again established in Northumbria, on a much broader and firmer basis than before; and by whose ministry it appears to have been first introduced into this district. It may be proper to add to this account of their character, that, like the first missionaries in Kent, they were almost all monks. Long before this period, monastic institutions, which took their rise in the deserts of Egypt about the commencement of the fourth century, had become popular in the west of Europe; and having found their way into Britain and Ireland, before the Romans abandoned our island, they continued to exist in the British churches, after their communication with the continent was almost entirely broken off. Such institutions, however, were not as yet distinguished by that punctilious regularity

* Bed. L. III. c. 3, 4, 5, 14, 17, 26.

which they afterwards assumed; and had not branched out into those endless ramifications of orders and fraternities in which they afterwards appeared. Retirement and abstinence, devotion and study, were indeed the characteristics of the monastic life; but the inhabitants of the cloister were not banished from the useful walks of life, nor constrained to measure out their devotions by the hour, and conduct all their movements and operations by precise rules. There was then little or no distinction between monks and clergy. The church of Lindisfarne was both a cathedral and a monastery; and, like the monastery of Iona, it might rather be called a seminary of learning, than a habitation of mere recluses and devotees. Aidan was at once a bishop, an abbot, and a professor of divinity; his monks were ministers or students, who, by a course of private studies and devotions, were prepared for public usefulness. From this seminary preachers were sent out in every direction; and by their means the gospel was not only propagated in Northumbria, but conveyed into some of the neighbouring kingdoms.*

It is highly probable that some of these zealous missionaries visited our district in the days of Aidan; but we have no authentic account of any church being built in this quarter before the time of his successor Finan, when the monastery, or church, of Lestingham was founded by Cedd, then bishop of the East-Saxons. Cedd was the eldest, or at least the most eminent, of

* Bed. L. III. c. 3, 4, 5, 21, 22.

four brothers, who were all educated for the ministry, under the tuition of Aidan, and his successor Finan. When Peada, prince of the Middle-Angles, and son of Penda, king of Mercia, was baptized by Finan at the royal residence near the Roman wall, about the time of his marriage with Alchfleda, daughter of Oswy, he desired to take some ministers along with him, to instruct his subjects in the true religion; and Cedd was one of the four appointed for that service. Diuma, another of their number, was afterwards ordained by Finan, to be the first bishop of the Mercians and Middle-Angles.

Cedd had not laboured long among the Mercians, when he was called to officiate in a more conspicuous station. The East-Saxons, who had been partly enlightened by some of the disciples of Augustine, had relapsed into idolatry; but Sigbert their king, when on a visit to Oswy king of Northumbria, was persuaded to receive the gospel, and was baptized by the hands of Finan. This prince having also solicited a supply of preachers for the instruction of his people, Cedd was recalled out of Mercia, and sent, with another presbyter, to plant the gospel in Essex. There he ministered with much zeal and success, itinerating throughout every part of the province; and some time after, having occasion to visit Lindisfarne, in order to consult with Finan, the latter ordained him bishop of the East-Saxons.* Returning

* Bed. L. III. c. 21, 22. Cedd is usually called bishop of *London;* but Aidan might with as much propriety be called bishop of *York.* It was not at London, but at *Ithancester,* (supposed to be

to his province in this new character, Cedd displayed increasing diligence in the work of the ministry; establishing churches throughout his diocese, and ordaining presbyters and deacons to supply them.

But Cedd retained a strong attachment to the province of Northumbria, where his career of usefulness had commenced; and while he officiated as bishop of Essex, he often visited the scene of his early labours; not for amusement, or personal gratification, but to assist in advancing the interests of religion. One object of these visits was to encourage and assist his brother Caelin, who then ministered at the court of Ethelwald, king of Deira.* That prince having become acquainted with Cedd, and knowing him to

St. Peter's on the Wall,) that Cedd fixed his head-quarters. The bishops of that age took their designation from the people among whom they ministered, rather than the towns where they chiefly lived. Cedd was bishop of the East-Saxons; Diuma, bishop of the Mercians; Paulinus, Aidan, Finan, and Colman, bishops of the Northumbrians.

* If York was Ethelwald's metropolis, Caelin must have been minister of York. It is usual to call Paulinus the first archbishop of York; Ceadda, the brother of Cedd, the second; Wilfrid, the third, &c.; and York is considered as vacant between the removal of Paulinus and the ordination of Ceadda. But perhaps York was as well supplied with pastors in the time of Aidan and Finan, as in the time of Paulinus, Ceadda, or Wilfrid. There is no propriety in giving the title *archbishop* to any of these three clergymen; and least of all to the first. Paulinus might as well be stiled archbishop of Campodunum, as archbishop of York. He was bishop of the Northumbrians; and, in this character, he was succeeded by Aidan. The division of England into two archbishoprics, with bishoprics under them, was the work of a later era. I am not without suspicion that in those passages of Bede where the term *arch*bishop is applied to Augustine and Paulinus and their immediate successors, the first syllable may be an interpolation; though we may suppose the title to be given to these prelates by way of anticipation. It does not appear that either Cedd or Diuma paid any subjection to the bishop of Canterbury; if they acknowledged any archbishop, it must have been Finan, by whom they were ordained. Theodorus, a foreigner, sent by the pope to fill

be a man of piety and worth, desired him to accept of some land for erecting a monastery; where the king might frequently attend for prayer and hearing the word, and where, at his death, he might be interred. Cedd agreed to the proposal, and chose for the place of the monastery a retired spot among the hills; more suitable for the caves of robbers, and the dens of wild beasts, than the habitations of men: that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, "In the beds where dragons once lodged, the verdure of reeds and rushes might spring;" that is, 'That the fruits of good works might grow, where beasts formerly dwelt, or men were wont to live like beasts.'*

Having fixed on this spot for the site of his monastery, the man of God resolved, first of all, to

the see of Canterbury, about the close of Oswy's reign, seems to have been the first who claimed and obtained the archiepiscopal power in England. Bed. L. IV. c. 2, 6. Gul. Malmes. de Gestis Pont. L. I.—Egbert, the brother of Eadbert king of Northumbria, appears to have been the first archbishop of York. Mat. Westm. I. p. 271. Gul. Malmes. de Gest. Pont. L. III. Sim. Dun. c. 18. Hoveden Annal. Par. I.—These authors indeed speak of Paulinus as the first archbishop of York, and Egbert as the second; but what they say of the former is extracted from Bede; and the documents in his History relating to Paulinus's dignity, whether forged or genuine, must be allowed to be older than their time. It seems a glaring impropriety to call him *archbishop*, when he had neither bishop nor clergy under him. His ordaining Honorius to the see of Canterbury is no proof that he was superior to a bishop: Deusdedit, the successor of Honorius, was ordained by Ithamar bishop of Rochester. Bed. L. III c. 20. Hen. Hunt. L. III. par. 5.—Besides, as I have already hinted, the see of Canterbury, before the time of Theodorus, does not appear to have had any authority over the other bishoprics in England, except what the mother church naturally has over the churches that spring from it.

* This passage is literally translated from Bede. The text quoted is in Isaiah XXXV. v. 7. The reader will observe that our translation of the Bible differs from that which Bede used.

purify and consecrate it by prayer and fasting, after the custom of the disciples of Aidan. He therefore begged the king* to allow him to remain there for that purpose, the whole time of Lent, which was then at hand. Accordingly, he commenced this process of consecration, fasting every day, (the Lord's day excepted,) until the evening, when he took only a small piece of bread, a hen's egg, and a little milk and water. When ten days of Lent yet remained, he was summoned to attend the king; upon which he requested his brother Cynibill, who was then with him as his presbyter, to complete his pious undertaking. With this request Cynibill chearfully complied; and having finished the course of fasting and prayer, he erected the monastery, which was named Lestingham; beginning this religious institution after the model of the church of Lindisfarne.†

I have been thus particular in relating the erection of this church, because it was the first church built in this district; as far as can be learned from any authentic records; and because the narrative of our

* It is not clear whether our historian means king Ethelwald, or the king of Essex, the province of which Cedd was bishop. † Bed. L. III. c. 23.—John of Tinemouth gives a similar account of the founding of Lestingham by Cedd; and adds, that his brother Thimbel (so he names Cynibill) governed the place after him, and that he died of the pestilence, and was buried there. See Dugd. Monast. I. p. 63. —The name *Lestingham* denotes *Lasting habitation*. The Saxon name Læstinga ea has nearly the same meaning; for as the word ea signifies *an island*, or *an insulated spot*, the name may denote *A lasting retreat*. If however we take ea to mean *water*, as it often does, the name might be rendered *A perpetual spring:* and may be supposed to have taken its rise from an allusion to another part of the passage in Isaiah referred to above: "In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert." &c. Isaiah XXXV. 6, 7.

venerable historian on the subject furnishes some curious and interesting particulars.

It appears that at this period, a considerable portion of our district was a frightful desert, the haunt of wild beasts and the retreat of robbers. And it may be observed in general, that the places that were then chosen for the erection of monasteries, particularly by the brethren of Lindisfarne, were not in the neighbourhood of populous towns or villages; but in the most wild and unfrequented parts, adapted to a life of retirement from the world.

To this we may add, that the church of Lestingham, like all the other churches built by Aidan's disciples, was constructed of wood. A stone church was erected on the same spot a number of years after, and the remains of Cedd, who died of the pestilence when he was on a visit to this favourite monastery in the year 664, were taken up and interred in this stone church on the right side of the altar.

It is not easy to ascertain the precise time when the monastery of Lestingham was founded. John of Tinemouth dates its erection in 648; but it could not be earlier than 654; for it was in 653 that Cedd was sent into Mercia; and he had not only been removed into Essex, but ordained a bishop, previous to the erection of this monastery. I am inclined to place it in 655; for in the end of that year Oswy gained the battle of Winwidfield; and, as I have noticed in the General History,† Ethelwald does not appear to have reigned in Deira after that engagement.

* Bed. L. III. c. 23. † See page 29.

CHAP. II.

Monastery of Streonshalh founded by Lady Hilda.

THE next church, or monastery, erected in our district, was that of Streoneshalh; and, as this monastery, in its various stages, is the principal subject of the present Book, it will be necessary to detail the circumstances of its erection, and to give some account of the venerable lady by whom it was founded. In several particulars relating to these topics, I find it necessary to differ most materially, not only from Charlton, whose fancy has strangely misled him in regard to lady Hilda and her monastery, but from many others who have written on the same subjects.

Hilda, the noble foundress of Streoneshalh abbey, was born in the year 614; and was baptized at York by Paulinus, along with her kinsman Edwin, in 627; being then about 13 years old. Her Saxon name,* which signifies *battle*, is supposed to have been the name of a goddess of battle,* adored by her progenitors, like

* Bede. † Turner's Hist. Ang. Sax. IV. p. 22, 397, 413.

the Roman goddess Bellona: and it was not uncommon among the pagan Saxons, and other northern nations, to bestow on their children the names of their favourite idols.* The mother of the celebrated Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, bore the same name;† and like the name of the Saxon deity *Thor*, we often find it in compound names; as in Ermen*hilda*, Mat*hilda*, Gun*hilda*, Ethel*hilda*, *Hilde*lid, *Hilde*gard, *Hilde*brand, and *Hilde*bert.

The parents of lady Hilda were Hereric and Breguswith. We have no account of the family of her mother; but her father Hereric was a prince of the royal family of Northumberland, and nearly related to Edwin. He is usually called the *grandson* of that king, by his son Eadfrid; and consequently Hilda is considered as Edwin's great-grand-daughter.§ But this genealogy is palpably erroneous. By

* The same custom prevailed among the ancient heathens; as we see both from Scripture, and from profane history. In a similar way the names of the true God, often enter into the composition of Hebrew names; and the practise has not been wholly laid aside since the establishment of christianity; as may be instanced in the names Theodore, Christopher, &c. † Turner's Hist. III. p. 93. Note.

§ Edwin rex Northumbrorum, ex Quadriburga filia Cridæ, regis Merc: genuit Eadfridum et Osfridum. Eadfride genuit Hereric um, regem Deirorum. Hereric us ex Beorswida genuit Hildam Abbatissam.—Anna ex Hereswitha genuit Sexburgam, &c.—Ex primo libro Henrici Bradshaw, monachi Cestrensis, de vita S. Werburgæ; apud Lel. Coll. Tom. II. p. 58, 59.

Huic (*scil.* Edwino) exuli de Quenburga, filia Creode, regis Merciorum, nati sunt duo filii, Osfrith et Eanfrith, cujus filius extitit Hereric us, qui de Bertswith genuit S. Hildam abbatissam, constructricem monasterii quod vocatur Streoneshalh, ac S. Hereswitham, Estanglorum reginam.—Ex historiola de regibus Sax. apud Lel. Coll. Tom. II. p. 306.—See the same genealogy in Sammes's Britannia Antiqua, p. 538; and in Smith's Bede, p. 169.

comparing the ages of the parties, it is easy to discover that Edwin could not be her grandfather, much less her great-grand-father. Edwin died in 633, when he was 48 years old;* and must therefore have been born in 585: Hilda died in 680, at the age of 66;† and of course, the year of her birth must have been 614. Consequently, her father Hereric could scarcely have been born later than 595; especially as Hilda appears to have been his second daughter; and, as Edwin was but 10 years old in 595, it follows that the above genealogy is altogether inadmissible.§ The error seems to have arisen from a mistake of the meaning of the word *nepos*, employed by Bede to express the relation of Hereric to Edwin.‖ That word, in the classic authors, signifies *grandson;* but it is used by Bede, and other monkish writers, to denote *nephew;*‡ which is no doubt its meaning in the passage referred to. Hereric was Edwin's nephew, and consequently Hilda was his grand-niece. As Edwin was only two or three years old at his father's death,** we may

* Bed. L. II. c. 20. Gul. Malmes. de Gestis Reg. Ang. L. I. In the Saxon version Edwin's age is only 47 years: Dæroe he ða ꝥeofon ⁊ ꝥeofeꝛtiȝ pintꝛa. I observe that in the General History (p. 22,) I have given this king's age according to the Saxon version. † Bed. L. IV. c. 23. Chron. Sax. § Eadfrid, the second son of Edwin, who was put to death by Penda, does not appear to have been married at all; his eldest son Osfrid left an only child called Yffi; who, after his father and grandfather fell in the battle of Hethfield, was carried to France, where he died in infancy. Bed. L. II. c. 20. ‖ He tells us that Hilda was "filia *nepotis* Aeduini regis, vocabulo Hererici." L. IV. c. 23. ‡ Thus Saberct king of the East Saxons is called "*nepos* Aedilberchti *ex sorore* Ricula:" and in like manner it is said of Oswald; "Erat autem *nepos* Aeduini regis *ex sorore* Acha" Bed. L. II. c. 3. L. III. c. 6. Both these passages are copied by Matthew of Westminster. I. p. 206, 225, 226. ** See p. 21.

presume that he was the youngest of the family; and, as he was heir to the throne of Deira, we may also infer that he was Ella's only son, at least his only son who grew up to manhood.* Hereric must therefore have been Edwin's nephew, not by a brother, but by a sister; and this sister must have been several years older than himself. His sister Acca was the wife of his persecutor Ethelfrid, and bore him three sons, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy. But, since it is clear that Hereric was not their brother, he must have been the son of another sister of Edwin, whose name has not been handed down to us. This princess was most probably the eldest daughter of Ella; for her son Hereric, as has been observed, must have been born about the year 595, if not before; and Oswald, the second son of her sister Acca was not born till the year 604, having lived but 38 years when he was slain by Penda in 642.† On this supposition, Hereric had a better title to the crown of Deira, than the sons of Ethelfrid; and, setting aside Edwin, was the nearest heir.§ Hence, it might be expected, that the

* Charlton, in direct contradiction to Bede, calls Hereric a younger *brother* of Edwin. History of Whitby, p. 2.—He informs us also, that he lived at Streoneshalh, and possessed much land there; and afterwards states (p. 22,) that lady Hilda was born at Aislaby. But these statements are entirely the work of fancy, unsupported by any authority whatever. The last of these notions he probably adopted merely from there being a spring near Aislaby called *Hilda's well*.—Drake, who is as careless, though less fanciful, makes Hilda herself the *sister* of Edwin! Eboracum, p. 405. Note. † Bed. L. III. c. 9. Hen. Hunt. L. III. par. 5. § An ancient chronicle, quoted in a former note, expressly calls him "Hereric um, regem Deirorum.

jealous usurper would attempt the destruction of this young prince, as well as of his uncle Edwin. Accordingly, we find that, while the latter was compelled to seek an asylum in distant courts, Hereric was also forced to consult his safety by escaping from Northumbria; and became an exile at the court of Cerdic one of the British kings.

It was probably during his exile that Hereric married Breguswith. This lady bore him a daughter, who was named Hereswith, and who was afterwards married to a prince of East-Anglia. About the time when she bore his other daughter Hilda, Breguswith according to Bede, had a remarkable dream, intended to prognosticate the illustrious character of her offspring; as well as the sudden death of Hereric. She dreamed that her husband was suddenly taken from her; and that, while she was seeking him with great earnestness, but to no purpose, she found under her robe a most precious jewel; and while she examined it attentively, it seemed to shine with such a lustre as to fill all parts of Britain with its brightness. This dream, our historian tells us, was completely fulfilled, both in the shining character of Hilda, and in the death of Hereric, who was cut off by poison; probably through the machinations of the tyrant Ethelfrid.* This story clearly implies that Hilda was the youngest daughter of Hereric, and it also intimates somewhat obscurely that she was a posthumous child.† The

* Bed. L. IV. c. 23. † Yet Bede states that her mother had this dream in "in infantia ejus;" which one would suppose to mean

tradition is that she was born on the 25th day of August; at least that is the day which from time immemorial has been observed at Whitby in honour of lady Hilda.

After the death of her husband, and the birth of her daughter Hilda, Breguswith probably became a refugee at the court of Redwald, along with her kinsman Edwin. When the latter was placed on the throne of his fathers in 616, she would naturally prefer to remain some time longer with her young family in East-Anglia, Hilda being then but two years old; and we may suppose that during her stay that intimacy was begun, which issued in the marriage of her eldest daughter to one of the East-Anglian princes. At what time she came into Northumbria with her daughters, or whether the whole family came into that province or not, we are not informed; but we find Hilda attending the court of Edwin her grand-uncle, at the age of thirteen, when she was baptized with her royal relative at York. Whether her young mind discerned the excellence of the gospel, and felt its influence, or whether in receiving baptism she merely followed the example of the court, it is impossible to determine. We may hope, however, that her conversion was sincere, as she persevered in her christian profession, and was not among those who apostatized after the fall of Edwin. At that

"during Hilda's infancy:" but, as the monkish writers are far from being correct in their language, we may allow him to mean, as the dream seems to imply, that Breguswith had this divine communication during her pregnancy.

disastrous period, she does not appear to have accompanied Eanfleda and Paulinus in their flight into Kent: perhaps she retired into the neighbouring kingdom of East-Anglia; for it must have been about this time, or soon after, that her sister was married to a prince of that country: or it is possible that she might venture to remain in Northumbria, under the care of James the deacon, or some other trusty friend. At any rate, she resided in Northumbria several years during the ministry of Aidan; with whom, it would appear, she became intimately acquainted, and under whom she at last assumed the vail.

In addition to the instructions and example of the pious Aidan, and his associates, various causes might operate in inducing lady Hilda to adopt the monastic life. She was now thirty-three years of age, and her prospects of connubial joys would naturally be less flattering than at an earlier stage of life; the calamities which had befallen the royal families of Northumbria and East-Anglia, to both of which she was nearly related, set before her a melancholy picture of the instability of earthly grandeur; and the example of her sister, who, after the death of her husband, had retired into the monastery of Cale (or Chelles) in France, presented a powerful stimulus. It was her first design, on assuming the religious habit, to spend the remainder of her days in the same monastery with her widowed sister. With this view she went into East-Anglia, hoping that the king of that province, to whom she was related, would find an opportunity of forwarding her into France.

Our venerable historian does not name the relation of Hilda who then reigned in East-Anglia; neither does he inform us to what prince her sister Hereswith was married; but simply calls her the mother of Aldulf, king of the East-Angles, without mentioning Aldulf's father. Aldulf, however, was not the king of East-Anglia at the time of Hilda's retirement, for he did not begin to reign till the year 663.* Previous to his reign, three brothers, Anna, Ethelhere, and Ethelwald, successively occupied the East-Anglian throne. The monkish annalists are divided as to the disposal of Hereswith, some giving her to the first of these brothers, while others bestow her upon the second. Of the latter class are William of Malmesbury, and Matthew of Westminster, who both consider Ethelhere as the father of Aldulf, and consequently the husband of Hereswith † A much greater number of writers have made this lady the queen of Anna, who, like two of his predecessors, was slain by Penda king of Mercia. But when it is considered that the same writers make Hilda the great-grand-daughter of Edwin,§ and that all of them lived several hundred years after Bede, their authority in this point, unless supported by some better evidence, can have little weight. They have assigned Hereswith to Anna, apparently for the purpose of bringing a greater cluster of saints into one family, the daughters

* The year 680 was the 17th year of his reign. Bed. L. IV. c. 17.
† Gul. Malm. de Gestis. Reg. Ang. L. I. c. 5. Mat. Westm. I. p. 231.—Some authors give Ethelhere the name of *Ethelric*. § See the notes on page 130. See also Lel. Coll. I. p. 589, 590. II. p. 225.

of Anna being celebrated for their piety. A little attention to dates, as well as to some other circumstances noticed by Bede, may convince us that Hereswith could neither be the wife of Anna nor of Ethelhere. It appears obvious from all accounts, that Hereswith was a widow before she retired into a monastery: neither Bede, nor any of his successors, has claimed for her the praise of forsaking her husband and her crown for the charms of a monastic life; and we may be sure that if she had been entitled to this praise, they would not have withheld it; as they are so lavish in their encomiums on Etheldrith and other ladies who made that sacrifice. Some of them, indeed, expressly tell us that Hereswith retired into France after the death of her husband.* Now, although historians differ as to the date of Anna's accession,† they appear to agree that he was cut off by Penda in 654; and it is well known that his brother Ethelhere was slain with Penda by Oswy, in the year following. But, if we recollect that Hilda assumed the veil when she was 33 years old, that is about the close of the year 647; and that her sister was then living in the monastery of Cale, to which she had previously withdrawn, we can have no doubt that neither of these

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 590. † Some place it in 635, some in 643 or 644, and Matthew of Westminster brings it down to 652; thus leaving but two years for Anna's reign. Mat. West. I. p. 228.—This last date is evidently erroneous; for Cenwalh king of Wessex was a refugee at the court of Anna no less than *three* years; and it is clear that Anna reigned for a considerable time both before and after that period. Bed. L. III. c. 7. Smith's Bede, p. 96, 122. Notes.

princes could be the husband of Hereswith. According to the best authorities, Anna was at that very time reigning in East-Anglia, and continued to fill the throne for about seven years after. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think, that the prince who espoused Hereswith, and who seems to have died at an early stage of life, never swayed the East-Anglian sceptre himself; though, in consequence of the disasters which befel the leading branches of the family, the honours of royalty devolved on his son.

The court of East-Anglia had little correspondence with Hereswith, after her retirement into France; for Hilda remained a whole year in that province without meeting with any opportunity of going over to her sister. At the expiration of that period, Aidan, having heard of her detention, invited her to settle in her own country; and, having complied with this invitation, she obtained a small possession* for establishing a nunnery, on the north bank of the river Wear. This was the second institution of the kind in Northumbria; and here lady Hilda continued for a year, with a few female companions who had also adopted the monastic life.

From the banks of the Wear, Hilda removed towards the mouth of the Tees. On the spot where Hartlepool now stands, and which was then called

* Locum unius familiæ=A place, or possession, of one family. The expression usually denotes a *hyde* of land.—The site of this first nunnery of lady Hilda is not ascertained: perhaps it was about the same spot where the monastery of Wearmouth was afterwards erected by Benedict Biscop. Some think that it was in the neighbourhood of South Shields, where there is a church dedicated to S. Hilda.

Heruteu or Heorta,* the first nunnery in Northumbria was erected; or at least the foundress of that nunnery, whose name was Hegu, or Heiu,† is stated to have been the first female who assumed the religious habit in that province. It was under the inspection, and by the consecration of Aidan, that this lady commenced the monastic life; and, in imitation of her patron, she chose for her abode the insulated spot above-mentioned, which was nearly surrounded by the ocean. But Hegu had not beén long in this monastery, when she removed from thence to Tadcaster, then named Calcaria, where she erected another nunnery; and Hilda was called to succeed

* Þeorţ ea—*insula cervi*, i. e. *Hart-island*. Had not Bede given us this explanation of the term, it might have been translated *Hart-pool*, agreeably to the modern name; for the Saxon word ea seems to denote *water* more frequently than *island*. Sir Cuthbert Sharp, to whose kindness I am indebted for many valuable communications, is about to favour the public with a *History of Hartlepool*; which will contain much interesting information respecting this ancient residence of lady Hilda. † Some have supposed that the name of this lady is not Þeȝu, but Beȝu or Beȝa; and have given her the title of *saint Bege*. When Leland visited Whitby, in his tour through the monasteries, he found there a *Life of saint Bega:* and from his extracts we learn, that this Bega was born in Ireland; that she first built a little monastery at Copeland (now St. Bee's) in Cumberland; that she next erected a monastery on the north bank of the Wear; that Hartlepool was her third station, Tadcaster her fourth, and Hackness, (where she died,) her last settlement. Lel. Coll. III. p. 39. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 395.—This narrative appears to be a strange medley, composed of portions of the lives of three or four *saints* jumbled together. The first part may relate to some Irish lady called Bega, but it has nothing to do with Hegu, who was a Northumbrian lady: the second part obviously belongs to lady Hilda; unless we suppose, which is not very probable, that Hegu was her predecessor on the banks of the Wear, as well as at Hartlepool: the last part relates to an old nun named Bega, who was living at Hackness when lady Hilda died.

her at Hartlepool. By this removal the charge of lady Hilda would be considerably increased; for, besides the nuns whom Hegu had left behind, the whole sisterhood who had lived with her on the banks of the Wear appear to have continued under her inspection at Hartlepool, their former habitation being entirely abandoned.

It must have been about the year 650 that Hilda became the abbess of Heruteu. Here she remained for upwards of seven years, intent on the duties of her office, and maintaining a high character for piety and wisdom. Aidan and his brethren assisted her much by their counsels and instructions; for they all respected and loved her, and paid frequent visits to her monastery.*

At last an unexpected occurrence was the means of conducting her to another sphere of usefulness. Oswy, before encountering the formidable Penda, tried to appease him with presents; but finding all his attempts to procure accommodation ineffectual, he had recourse to the divine assistance, and resolved to present his gifts at that court where they would not be rejected. He therefore made a vow, that if he should come off victorious, he would devote his daughter to the Lord to be a holy virgin; and would give with her twelve manors, or possessions of land, for founding monasteries. After his brilliant victory over Penda on the banks of the Air, Oswy remembered his vow, and committed his infant daughter

* Bed. L. IV. 23.

Ælfleda, who was scarcely a year old, to the care of Hilda, abbess of Heruteu; setting apart at the same time twelve possessions, each consisting of ten hydes of land, for the support of persons enguged in the monastic life. Of these possessions, or manors, six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia; and a considerable part of them was no doubt granted to the monastery where the royal infant was to reside.* This new charge added greatly to the respectability of our abbess; while an increase of wealth enabled her to enlarge her institution, and put it in her power to commence new undertakings.

Two years after this event, lady Hilda purchased† a possession of ten hydes of land in a place called

* Charlton very properly corrects the mistake of Rapin, who represents Oswy as vowing to erect *twelve monasteries:* yet he falls into as great a mistake himself, in appropriating all the twelve manors to Streoneshalh, and especially in placing them in Whitby Strand, in defiance of Bede's authority. I am amazed to find him pretending to quote Bede himself, to prove that at least six of the manors were in Whitby Strand, and were given to the monastery of Streoneshalh; while the other six were given to that of Hartlepool. Hist. of Whitby, p. 20, 22.—There is no such passage in Bede: he does not inform us in what parts of Deira or Bernicia these manors lay, nor to what monasteries they were appropriated. It does not appear that any one of them was in Whitby Strand; and the words of Bede may warrant a belief that several monasteries shared in this bounty. Hence, William of Malmesbury tells us that Oswy built a number of monasteries: "Quin et Domino famulantibus frequentia constituens habitacula; hujus quoque boni patriam non reliquit exanguem." L. I. c. 3. Charlton, it seems, found exactly *twelve* manors in Whitby Strand. He could as easily have found twenty, or might with equal facility have reduced them to six or eight. † The words of Bede do not necessarily imply that Hilda *purchased* the land; "Quæ post biennium comparata possessione decem familiarum in loco qui dicitur Streaneshalch, ibi monasterium consruxit:" but the Saxon version clearly states that she *bought* this possession; "Seo æfter þam geaſnum gebohte þyn hiwa landes hire on æhte on Þæſre ſtope ſeo is geceped Streoneſhalh Þær heo mynſter getimbrode." Charlton makes this possession Aislaby: he should have removed the abbey to Aislaby too.

Streoneshalh; and there she erected a new monastery, where she and the young princess, with many other nuns, took up their abode. Whether the whole convent of Heruteu removed with their abbess to her new residence, or whether a part of them remained behind, we have no certain accounts. It is most probable that the monastery at Heruteu still subsisted; and that a new abbess was chosen, as had been done on the removal of Hegu. If this was the case, we need not doubt that Hilda would retain a maternal affection for a convent in which she had so long presided; and we know that her name was revered, and her memory cherished, by the inhabitants of that place in after ages.*

All authors are agreed, that the place where lady Hilda founded her new monastery was the same which has since been denominated Whitby; but the origin of its ancient name is involved in obscurity. In the Saxon it is usually written STREONESHALH, and and in the Latin *Streaneshalch;* and in one of the passages where it occurs in Bede, we find it interpreted *Sinus fari,=The bay of the lighthouse.*†

* Sir Cuthbert Sharp has favoured me with an impression of a very ancient seal of the church of Hartlepool. In the centre is a rude figure of lady Hilda (to whom the church is dedicated,) standing under a canopy, having her pastoral staff, or crosier, in her right hand, and a book in her left; a little behind her appear two monks, or priests, one on the right, and the other on the left, with their faces turned towards her; each of them is praying with uplifted hands, and has a small altar with a chalice on it standing before him, while a dove descending from heaven seems to bring to his hands the sacred *wafer*. The inscription around the figures is a prayer presented to her ladyship: SVBVENIAT FAMVLIS NOBILIS HILDA SVIS;—*Let Lady Hilda help her servants.* † *Streaneschalch*, quod interpretatur *Sinus fari*. L. III. c. 25.

This interpretation has been generally adopted, and both Spelman and Wilkins accordingly designate the synod of Streoneshalh, *Synodus Pharensis*. I am fully persuaded, however, that this explanation of the name must be erroneous; but as it is not likely that Bede himself would mistake its meaning, I am disposed to think that the passage is an interpolation by some ignorant transcriber, or rather that *Sinus fari* is not the true reading in his work.* My opinion is grounded chiefly on two reasons. The first is, that it appears utterly improbable that any lighthouse ever existed here, either in the time of the Romans, or of the Saxons. It is well known that lighthouses were constructed by the Romans, and that they were called *Phari*, from the name of the celebrated lighthouse of Alexandria: but it is certain, that these helps to navigation were extremely rare among the ancients. As far as I have observed, there is no mention made in history of any one *Pharus* erected by the Romans in Britain; and we may be sure that if they established any, it would only be at their principal ports. But we do not find that the Romans had either town, village, or harbour, at this place; and if Whitby, in its present flourishing state as a town and harbour, has no lighthouse, in an era when lighthouses are ten times more numerous than they were among the ancients, is it credible that the place possessed a

* It may be remarked that though Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster, and other ancient authors, have quoted Bede's explanation of Þeonxea, &c. none of them quotes this interpretation of Streoneshalh.

Pharus, when there was no town at all, at least none which the Roman historians thought it worth while even to name? Indeed if there had been a lighthouse here in the days of the Romans, it is very unlikely that, during the long desolations which succeeded their departure, the remembrance of it should be preserved so as to give a name to the place. Much less can we suppose that there was any lighthouse here in the early part of the Saxon period. The Saxons of that age were too rude to be acquainted with such improvements. The term *pharus*, or *farus*, was indeed used among the Northumbrians in the time of Alcuin, several years after the death of lady Hilda, being the name of an apparatus for suspending lights in the churches;* but the term, as well as the contrivance, was borrowed from the foreign churches; and few, if any, of those who made use of it, understood its primitive signification.

Another reason which leads me decidedly to reject the received interpretation of *Streoneshalh*, is that the word itself seems incapable of bearing any such meaning. The last part of this compound name, which in the Saxon is written *halh*, *heath*, or *heale*,† and in the Latin, halch, halc, haulk, &c. may indeed

* There was a large *pharus* in the church at York in Alcuin's time. See Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 143.

† The name is Streoneshealh in Bed. L. IV. c. 26. In the Saxon Chronicle it is Streonesheale. Othere's narrative, in Alfred's Orosius, (p. 24, 25.) mentions a port in the Baltic called Sciringesheal, or Scirinzes-heale, which the learned editor (D. Barrington) takes to be *Stockholm*. He remarks in his Notes, p. 256, that *heale*, in the northern languages, signifies *a port*; and translates Scirinzes-heale, *the port of the rocky islands*.

be properly rendered *sinus*, or *bay*. It is not to be confounded with *hale* or *halle*, corresponding with our modern word *hall;* but is quite a different term, denoting *an inlet* or *harbour*, and may possibly have some connection with the Dutch word **Hoek**, signifying a *creek*, or a *corner*.* But I cannot see how *Streones*, the other part of the name, can be rendered *phari* (or *fari*); as its original meaning seems to have no relation whatever to a *lighthouse*. It is the possessive case of the noun *Streon* or *Streona*, which, with *ge* prefixed, signifies *gain* or *wealth*.† The The name *Streoneshalh* might therefore have been rendered *Gain-Bay*, or the *Bay of Success*, had not

* In a list of churches belonging to the monastery of Medeshamstede, I find one name terminating in *hale* and another in *halch*, Lodes*hale* and Schuffen*halch*;—a proof that these terminations are not the same. Lel. Coll I. p. 5.—The charter of Robert of Livertun, contained in the Chartulary, or Abbot's Book, of Whitby, (p. 63), mentions a place called Duhcildehalc; "Et illam terram de Lusekeldesic, a via maris in Duhcildehalc."—It seems to be the name of some small creek near Skinnigrove. The termination *halch* in the ancient name of Whitby is sometimes written *haul*. Perhaps our modern word *haul* may be related to it, as it might signify a place where boats were hauled up. † The prefix ȝe occurs very frequently in Saxon words; as it also does in the kindred languages, the Dutch and German. In many instances it does not alter the meaning of the word; as in pit and ȝepit, ðinȝ and ȝeðinȝ, &c. The word ȝeſtreon often occurs: thus we find Ænd ðone hiſ ȝeſtreon beoð þuſ eall ærpendeð="And when his property is thus all spent;" (Alfred's Orosius, p. 27.) be ıdlum ðinȝum peoplıd ȝeſtreon ſece="Seeks worldly gain by vain things;" (Bed. L. I. c. 27.) and mycel ȝeſtreon halıȝra ſaula="Much gain of holy souls;" Wheloch's Bede, p. 108.—Camden is for rendering Stıeoneſheale *healthy bay* (V. III. p. 17); imagining that heale means *health:* but Stıeoneſ cannot be that part of the name which denotes *bay;* being obviously in the possessive case.—There is a place called *Strensall* near York, which bore the same name at the time of the Conqueror's survey; but the etymology of that name seems to have no connection with that of the ancient name of Whitby.

Bede given us his interpretation of it; and if we could read *Sinus lucri*, instead of *Sinus fari*, the point would be settled. But, as this seems to be too remote from the present reading, I rather suspect that (if the passage be not an interpolation) we should read *lari* instead of *fari;* and those who are acquainted with ancient manuscripts well know that the letters *f*, *s*, and *l*, in these writings, are very apt to be mistaken for one another. Now *larus* signifies a *sea-gull*, and if *streon* has the same meaning, *Streoneshalh* must be *Gull-Bay*. I cannot indeed quote an instance in which *streon* signifies *a gull* in the literal sense; but, like *larus*, it is taken figuratively to denote one who is eager after gain or preferment. *Larus hians—a gaping gull*, means a person who is grasping at some advantage: and in the same acceptation is *streon* used; for the famous, or rather infamous, Edric, duke of Mercia, who rose from a low station to the highest rank, and catched at every advantage, even by the basest means, was surnamed *Streon*, or *Streona*, which an old author renders *the getter* or *strainer*. Indeed the Saxon word seems to imply the idea of straining or stretching, or that exertion which is made to acquire wealth; and it may be remarked that, in the German language, **strengen** or **anstrengen** signifies *to strain*, or *to stretch;* **streng** both in Dutch and Swedish, denotes *a string* or *cord;* and there are similar words, in these and other languages related to the Saxon, employed to express *extension* or *straining*. *Streon*,

therefore may denote *a gaper*, among the feathered tribes, as well as among mankind; and might be used as the name of a sea-gull. It must be allowed, that this place, before the days of lady Hilda was much more likely to be the resort of gulls, than the site of a lighthouse; and, if report says true, her ladyship waged war with the sea-fowls, compelling them, through the force of her prayers, to lower their pinions, and drop to the ground, when they attempted to fly over her sacred territory.* If we prefer the figurative meaning of the term *larus*, as corresponding better with *streon*, we may suppose that Streoneshalh derived its name from some greedy plunderer, or pirate, who like Robin Hood in a later era, had his abode in this retired quarter: and, in that case, we must call it *Pirate's Bay*. At the same time I may add, that if *larus* can be translated *a gaping*, as I find it is in an old dictionary, Streoneshalh might be rendered *Gaping-Bay*, or *Open-Bay*;—a name which, though very inapplicable to the inlet which forms our harbour, might be properly given to the bay that extends between Whitby and the point beyond Sands-end. After all, lest my good fellow-citizens should be offended at me for appearing to attempt to *gull* them, I will leave them at liberty to adopt, if they please, the first interpretation of *Streoneshalh*, viz. *The Bay of Gain*; a name which must needs be more acceptable, and which we might suppose to have

* Gough's Camden, V. III. p. 17.

originated with some fishermen who had pursued their occupations successfully on the coast.

Whatever may have been the derivation of the name, it is obvious that Streoneshalh was a place of no note, till lady Hilda made choice of it for the site of her new monastery. Like Lindisfarne, Hartlepool, and Lestingham, it was a retired, unfrequented spot; and for that very reason it was selected as a suitable station for a monastic establishment.

We may date the first erection of our monastery in 658; for the ground was procured, and the institution set on foot two years after the battle of Winwidfield which was fought November 15, A. D. 655;* and, as we can hardly suppose the undertaking to have commenced in the midst of winter, it must be dated in the spring or summer of 658.

Like all the other religious buildings erected by the Scotish missionaries and their disciples, the nunneries of lady Hilda, must have at first been built in the most simple form, and of the most humble materials. Buildings of stone were altogether unusual with them: their churches were framed of wood, and covered with thatch or reeds; and had the monastery of Streoneshalh, or that of Heruteu, been constructed in a different way, our historian would doubtless have taken notice of such a singularity.† This

* 17 Cal. Decemb. Bed. L. III. c. 24. † Ibid. c. 4, 17, 25. St. Cuthbert, according to Bede, was sore pestered with the crows, which resorted to Lindisfarne, as the gulls did to Streoneshalh. These mischievous creatures tore the thatch from the roof of his monastery, and carried it off to build their nests; and when they would not desist from this sacrilegious spoliation at his command, he banished them

statement will appear strange to some who have read the narrative of Charlton, who tells us that Streoneshalh abbey was built after the model of the church at York, which he is pleased to term "a master-piece of workmanship;" that those architects and workmen who had been employed at York were engaged to erect this new monastery; that it was two years in building, during which time lady Hilda often attended to direct the work; that the fabric was 100 yards long, the nave 36 yards, &c. extent of the cross-part 50 yards, height of the tower 35 yards; and that the whole stood on 40 superb Gothic pillars.* The whole of this story is a mere romance, not only unsupported by any authority, but totally inconsistent with the history of architecture in Britain. There were no such buildings in England as that which he describes, for many ages after the days of lady Hilda. The time was not yet arrived when monachism was combined with magnificence, and when a profession of poverty was the way to riches. Several hundred years elapsed before any churches so magnificent were erected in Northumbria; or any churches in the

from the island in the name of Christ. Upon this, they flew away in great dejection; but at the end of three days one of them returned, and finding the *saint* digging, it fell at his feet in the most penitent manner, to beg pardon. When the good man was overcome by its entreaties, it presently flew off for its mate, (for it was not of a monkish habit) and the couple returning, brought with them, as a trespass-offering, a large lump of hoga-lard, which served for a long time to grease the brethren's shoes. Vita S. Cuthb. c. 20.

* Hist. of Whitby, p. 21, 22.—These are nearly the dimensions of the present abbey church; in its entire state. Charlton fancies that lady Hilda's abbey was not only on the same site, but of the same extent.

cruciform shape, with transepts, cloisters, and towers. A stone building of any sort was then a kind of prodigy; and even the churches that were built of stone were plain quadrangular buildings, more rude than our modern barns. The church of York, so far from being "a master-piece of workmanship," was so wretchedly constructed, that when Wilfrid became bishop of that place about ten years after this time, he found the church in ruins: the roof was gone; the walls, which had probably been formed of rough stones with clay for cement, were half fallen down, and their tottering remains served only to contain birds' nests; the windows too, instead of being glazed, were formed with lattices, or with thin linen cloth.* Even after being thoroughly repaired by that prelate, it was only a poor building; no more like the present magnificent structure, than a cottage is like a palace Nay, the palaces of that day were miserable hovels, not equal in convenience to modern cottages. Edwin's royal hall was but a large shed, with a fire burning on the floor in the midst of it, and so open, even in the winter, that the birds could fly through it.† Alfred's palace, above two hundred years after, was little better; for the walls were so full of chinks, and

* Basilica, quondam ab Edwino rege monito beati Paulini in Eborace facta, tecto vacabat, parietes semiruti, et ruinam plenam minantes solis nidis avium serviebant, &c. Gul. Malm. de G. P. Lib. III.—The first church at Lincoln, the only other stone church then in the north of England, was in the same ruinous state before the time of Bede. L. II. c. 16.—A curious specimen of the ancient wooden churches has been preserved unto modern times, viz. the church of Greensted in Essex. See Camden, V. II. p. 51. Turner, V. IV, p. 452. † See p. 110.

the doors and windows so clumsily framed, that he had not an apartment in which a candle could burn steadily when there was any wind, without being inclosed in a lantern.* In the reign of Edgar, at a much later period, the monasteries in England were in a ruinous condition, composed of rotten boards, and other wretched materials.†

The building of a monastery, then, in the days of lady Hilda, was a work of little labour or expence. The nunnery at Streoneshalh might be reared in a few weeks, or even in a few days; especially as it was probably begun on a very small scale. This may be partly inferred from the smallness of the territory which she possessed in the place, consisting of no more than ten hydes of land;§ though, as was formerly noticed, it is likely that a great part of the twelve possessions which Oswy gave for the support of monasteries, was bestowed on this abbey where his daughter was educated.

But however small this institution might be at its commencement, it soon became very considerable; and was the largest of the monasteries founded by Oswy's bounty.‖ Its increase might naturally be expected, both from the rank and character of the

* Turner's Hist. II. p. 337. † Sancta restaurare monasteria, quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis tigno tenus visibiliter diruta. Gul. Malm. de G. R. A. L. II. § The island of Iona, which is three miles long by one broad, was estimated at five hydes. Bed. L. III, c. 4.—If we double this quantity, we shall find pretty nearly the extent of Hilda's territory at Streoneshalh. It was but a small portion of Whitby Strand. ‖ Gul. Malm. L. I. c. 3.

abbess, and the dignity of her youthful charge. Every one who adopted the monastic life, would be eager to enter an abbey, where a lady so illustrious presided, and where a young princess was a disciple. Oswy and his queen would be the first to patronise an establishment which contained an object so dear to them. The fame of lady Hilda was extensively spread abroad, she was visited by persons of the most exalted station, and her monastery became the scene of important transactions.

CHAP. III.

The Synod of Streoneshalh.

THE most remarkable affair which occurred at Streoneshalh, in the days of lady Hilda, was the synod or council held there, in the presence of king Oswy and his son Alchfrid, to determine some differences which had arisen in the church.

When Britain was separated from the Roman empire, the churches in the British isles were detached from those on the continent; and had scarcely any communication with them for the space of about two hundred years. At the time of the Pelagian controversy, they requested and obtained the assistance of some of the bishops of Gaul;* but they seem to have had no direct correspondence with the church of Rome till after the arrival of Augustine. During that interval the continental churches had undergone a variety of modifications; the power of the bishop of Rome had been greatly augmented, the ordinances of religion had been altered, ancient superstitions had

* Bed. L. I. c. 17.

been new-modelled, and new rites and ceremonies adopted. In the mean time, the British churches seem to have retained the institutions of christianity nearly in the same state as when their communication with the continent began to be cut off. Hence, when they came in contact with the Romish church, after the missionaries of the latter had arrived among the Saxons, the difference between them was found to be so great, that they could not coalesce. Augustine and his helpers had a conference with seven British bishops, and several other ministers, at Bangor, with a view to draw them into the catholic church; and he was willing to concede to them all their other peculiar usages, provided they would adopt the practice of his church, as to the time of keeping easter, and the mode of administering baptism: but they would not listen to his proposals, nor give up any of the institutions received from their fathers; for they dreaded that he was aiming to bring them under that spiritual domination, to which the churches on the continent were already subjected.*

While the British churches differed widely from the church of Rome, they appear upon the whole to have agreed with one another; at least, we are certain from many passages in Bede, and from other authorities, that the churches in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, followed the same rule in the observation of easter; and there can be little doubt that they mutually corresponded.

* Bed. L. II. c. 2. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 24—28.

The church of Northumbria planted by Aidan, with the branches that sprung from it in Mercia and Essex, adhered at first to the communion of the British churches; having no dependence on the see of Rome, and little or no correspondence with the churches of Kent. By degrees, however, some ministers of the Romish persuasion found their way into the churches established by the Scotish missionaries; where they laboured to introduce the forms of their own church. Of these one of the most zealous was Ronan, who was of Scotish extraction, but had received his education among the foreign churches. Devoted to the see of Rome, he did not scruple to attack Finan himself; and though he could not convince that bishop of heresy, he gained a considerable party to his cause. Ronan was greatly assisted in this zealous attempt, by Romanus the chaplain of queen Eanfleda; who had been a presbyter in the church of Kent, and had accompanied that princess into Northumberland, on her marriage with Oswy. The queen herself, having been educated in Kent, was of the same party; and this remark will also apply to most of her attendants. The party was further strengthened by the venerable James, formerly deacon to Paulinus, who had been employed in the ministry for a number years, and had been suffered to retain without molestation the usages which Paulinus had established. Indeed, it does not appear that the bishops of Lindisfarne made any attempt to impose their observances on such as had

been educated in the church of Rome: they left them to follow their own forms. This toleration, however, would not satisfy the Romanists; they aimed at the exclusive establishment of the usages of their church, which they considered as the true and catholic church, while they pronounced their opponents to be heretics and schismatics. The great respectability of Finan was a powerful obstacle in the way of their success; but when that prelate was removed by death about the year 662, they began to muster all their force, to attack Colman the new bishop, before he could acquire the reputation and influence of his predecessor. By this time their party had received a considerable accession of strength. Prince Alchfrid, who was now on the throne of Deira, warmly espoused their cause; which also obtained an able advocate in his friend Wilfrid, whom he had made abbot of Ripon. It was, indeed, through the influence of this remarkable character, that Alchfrid changed his sentiments.* Wilfrid, having spent some of his younger years in the monastery of Lindisfarne, travelled into France and Italy to complete his education; and upon his return to his native country after a lapse of years, he paid his respects to the royal family, by whose assistance he had been enabled to set out on his travels. His learning and talents recommended him to the

* On this subject, however, Bede is not consistent with himself; for, in his account of the synod of Streoneshalh (L. III. c. 25.), he attributes Alchfrid's *orthodoxy* to the instructions of Wilfrid; whereas, in his life of Wilfrid (L. V. c. 19.), he intimates that Alchfrid was previously attached to the catholic rule, and that he conceived a friendship for Wilfrid, because he found him to be a true catholic.

favour of Alchfrid, who was nearly of the same age;* and that prince being gained over by his eloquence to the party of the Romanists, first gave him a possession of ten hydes of land at Stanford,† and soon after gave him the monastery of Ripon, endowed with a possession of thirty hydes; having expelled from thence the abbot Eata and the Scotish monks, by whom under his own patronage the monastery had been established, because they would not adopt the catholic observances.§ This expulsion, together with the advancement of Wilfrid, who was soon after ordained a presbyter || by Agilbert, bishop of Wessex, another defender of the catholic faith, would naturally tend to inflame the controversy, and to raise the hopes of the Romanists; whose party received a further accession in one Agatho, a presbyter.

To terminate the disputes which now agitated the church of Northumberland, it was at last resolved that a synod should be held, in which the subjects in

* Wilfrid was about 30 years of age in 664, (Bed. L. V. c. 19.) and Alchfrid could be very little younger. It is usual, indeed, to speak of Wilfrid as Alchfrid's *tutor;* but this notion must appear ridiculous, if we consider that that prince had swayed the sceptre of Deira some years before his attendance on Wilfrid's instructions commenced; and that he was old enough to command an army so early as the year 655. The words of Bede on the subject mean nothing more than that Wilfrid instructed him in the catholic doctrine. † Probably Stanford on the Derwent, on which river the kings of Deira had a palace. § Young St. Cuthbert was among the monks expelled with Eata. The latter became abbot of Melrose, and afterwards abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne. Bed. L. III. c. 26. Vita S. Cuthb. c. 6, 7, 8. || He had received the religious tonsure in France from Dalfin, archbishop of Lyons, with whom he lived for some years. Agilbert, who now ordained him, was also a Frenchman, and returned soon after to his own country, where he became bishop of Paris, and had the honour of also ordaining Wilfrid a bishop. Bed. L. V. c. 19. L. III. c. 7.

question might be publicly discussed. This memorable synod was held in the monastery of Streoneshalh, in the year 664;* and, the heads of both parties having been summoned to attend, there was a general muster of their respective forces. On the part of the Romish church appeared Alchfrid, Agilbert, Agatho, Wilfrid, James, Romanus, and others; and on the part of the Scotish church were Oswy, the abbess Hilda, Colman and his clergy, with the venerable Cedd, bishop of Essex, who acted as moderator of the synod, being an interpreter and mediator between the parties.†

The first point that fell to be discussed was a question respecting the proper time of keeping easter. The church of Rome never observed easter till after the 14th day of the moon which followed the vernal equinox; so that their easter-sunday could not be earlier than the 15th day of the moon, and might be as late as the 21st day: but, in the British church, if the 14th day of that moon happened to be the first day of the week, it was kept as easter-day, and consequently their easter could not be later than the 20th day of the moon. Hence it had happened, though it could not happen often, that while Oswy and his Scotish friends were keeping easter, his queen Eanfleda with the Romanists were observing palm-sunday, their lent not being yet finished.—This was the principal subject in dispute, and was the only one

* Matthew of Westminster dates it in 663. † Qui et interpres in eo Concilio vigilantissimus utriusque partis exstitit.—Oswy himself, however, presided in the council: Cedd only assisted him.

that underwent a full discussion in this synod. The arguments employed in the debate were drawn from the practice of the churches, and the uncertain traditions of the fathers; for neither party could appeal to the scriptures, there being nothing in the word of God to sanction the observance of easter in any form.*

At the opening of the assembly, Oswy made a short speech, setting forth the importance of unity in the church. "They who serve one God," said he, "should hold one rule of life; and they who expect the same heavenly kingdom, ought not to differ in observing the heavenly sacraments.† Let us inquire, then, which is the true tradition, and let us all agree to follow it."

Colman, the bishop of the province, was then desired by the king to state what he had to say on behalf of the rites which he followed; and he proceeded to address the meeting as follows: "The easter which I am wont to keep, is what I received from those who sent me hither as a bishop, and which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have observed in the same way. Nor is it to be despised or rejected; for it is the same which the evangelist John, the beloved disciple of the Lord, is said to have observed, with all the churches under his inspection."

* The word *easter* occurs, indeed, in our translation, in Acts XII. 4. where it is said that Herod intended "after easter" to bring out Peter to be executed. But the word in the original is *the passover*, and should have been so rendered; for it would be absurd to suppose, that a *Jewish persecutor* would delay the execution of the apostle out of respect to a *christian* festival. † The church of Rome differed from the British churches in the mode of administering baptism, as well as in the observance of easter. Bed. L. II. c. 2.

When Colman had spoken these words, with other things to the same effect, the king desired bishop Agilbert to produce his authority for his mode of observing easter: but Agilbert begged to be excused, because, being a foreigner, he was not master of the English language; and he requested that Wilfrid, his disciple, whose sentiments were the same with his own, might be permitted to speak in his stead. This permission being readily granted Wilfrid thus began: "That easter which we keep, we have seen observed by all who are at Rome, where the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, lived, taught, suffered, and were buried;* we have beheld it universally practised in Italy and Gaul, which we have travelled over for the sake of learning and devotion; and we have learned that it is kept, at one and the same time, by Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and the whole christian world, except these only, and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and Britons; in conjunction with whom, though occupying only two remote islands of the ocean, and not even the whole of these, they fight with foolish labour against the whole world."

To this insulting language, which affords a specimen of that haughty, over-bearing temper, for which Wilfrid was so distinguished, Colman replied:

* The fanciful traditions which make the apostle Peter bishop of Rome, the apostle James bishop of Jerusalem, &c. are of very ancient date. On these traditions, and on the gradual usurpations of the church of Rome, and the independence of the ancient British churches, some remarks will be offered in Appendix, No. II. It is highly probable that Peter never saw Rome.

"It is strange that you would call our labour *foolish*, in which we follow the example of so great an apostle, who was thought worthy to lean on the breast of our Lord; since all the world knows that he lived in the wisest manner."

"Far be it from us," said Wilfrid, "to accuse John of folly, in adhering to the rites of the Mosaic law; while as yet the church conformed in many things to the Jews, and the apostles could not at once reject that law which had been appointed by God, as they did those idols that were invented by demons. They were careful to avoid giving any offence to the Jews that were among the Gentiles. Hence it was, that Paul circumcised Timothy, that he offered sacrifices in the temple, and that he shaved his head at Corinth,* with Aquila and Priscilla. Hence it was, that James said unto Paul; 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law.'† But in our day, when the gospel is shining through the world, it is unnecessary, nay, it is unlawful, for believers to be circumcised, or to offer corporeal sacrifices to God. Now, John, according to the custom of the law, began the celebration of the paschal feast on the fourteenth day of the first month, at even; whether it happened to be sabbath,§ or any

* It was at Cenchrea, the port of Corinth. Acts, XVIII. 18.
† Acts, XXI. 20. § By sabbath he means the Jewish sabbath, or our saturday. The Jews even at this day keep their sabbath from sunset on friday till sunset on saturday, and not from midnight to midnight; according to the direction given to their fathers, "From even unto even shall ye celebrate your sabbath." Levit. XXIII. 32.

other day of the week. But Peter, when he preached at Rome, remembering that on the first day of the week the Lord arose from the dead, and gave the world the hope of a resurrection, understood that easter should be so observed, that, according to the custom and precepts of the law, he behoved to wait, like John, till the evening of the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month; and when that time arrived, if the day following was the Lord's day, then called the first day of the week, he began to keep easter that very evening: as we also are wont to do. If, however, the Lord's day did not fall on the next day after the fourteenth of the moon, but on the sixteenth, or seventeenth, or any subsequent day, unto the twenty-first, he waited for that day, and began the solemnities of easter on the sabbath evening * preceding; so that easter-sunday could only be kept from the fifteenth day of the moon, to the twenty-first day. This apostolic tradition does not set aside but fulfil the law, which requires the observance of the passover, from the fourteenth day of the first month at even, unto the twenty-first day of the same month at even: and this observance is followed by all the successors of John, in Asia, and by the whole church throughout the world. And, that this is the true easter, hat this only is to be kept by the faithful, was not first decreed by the council of Nice, † but merely confirmed by it; as

* That is on the evening of the Jewish sabbath, or saturday evening. † This celebrated council was held A. D. 325. Charlton who often introduces his own comments, or supplements, into the speeches which he recites, makes the date of this council a part of Wilfrid's own words.

the history of the church clearly informs us. Whence it appears, that you, Colman, are not following the example of John, as you imagine, any more than that of Peter, whose tradition you wilfully oppose; and, in observing your easter, you neither agree with the law, nor with the gospel. For John kept the time of easter according to the Mosaic law, without waiting for the first day of the week; whereas you never observe it but on the first day. Peter kept easter-sunday from the fifteenth day of the moon to the twenty-first; whereas you keep it from the fourteenth day to the twentieth: so that you often begin your easter in the evening of the thirteenth day of the moon, of which the law makes no mention, nor was it on that evening, but the evening of the fourteenth, that our Lord, the author and giver of the gospel, did eat the old passover, and institute the sacrament of the new testament, to be observed by his church, in commemoration of his death. Besides, you wholly throw out from your observance of easter, the twenty-first day of the moon; which the law required to be especially celebrated. And thus, as I have said, in your celebration of this great festival, you neither agree with John nor with Peter,* with the law nor with the gospel."

* It would require more learning than Wilfrid possessed, to prove that either Peter or John kept easter in any form; but he argues according to the traditions that were then currently received in the church. On this subject we find some excellent remarks in the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, a writer of the fifth century. He condemns the violent debates, between the eastern and western churches, about the time of keeping easter; because the keeping of

To this learned and eloquent speech Colman briefly replied: "Did Anatolius, a holy man,* much praised in the history of the church to which you appeal, contradict the law or the gospel, when he wrote that easter is to be kept from the fourteenth day to the twentieth? Can we believe that our most reverend father Columba, and his successors, men beloved of God, who held easter in the same way, walked contrary to the divine word? The piety of many of them was attested by the signs and miracles which they wrought; and since I have no doubt of their holiness, I cannot cease to follow their life, their manners, and their discipline."

"No doubt," returned Wilfrid, "Anatolius was a man most holy, most learned, and most praiseworthy: but what have ye to do with him, when ye do not keep even his institution? For he, following the rule of truth in his easter, laid down a cycle of nineteen years; which you are either ignorant of, or treat with contempt, though it is acknowledged and

holy days, and Jewish festivals, was rather set aside than enjoined by the gospel, which frees us from that yoke of bondage. The keeping of easter and other festivals, he says, was not commanded by Christ or his apostles, but was introduced by custom. The apostles were not occupied in prescribing rules for keeping holy days; but in leading men to virtue and piety. He also remarks, that though the eastern churches pleaded the authority of John for their practice, and the western churches that of Peter and Paul; neither party could produce any certain document to establish their point. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. L. V. c. 21.

* He was bishop of Laodicea about the time of the emperor Dioclesian, and is much commended for his learning and piety. He wrote some canons about the time of keeping easter. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. L. VII. c. 26.

held by the whole church of Christ. While he fixed easter-sunday on the fourteenth day of the moon, he reckoned the evening of that same day to be the fifteenth, after the Egyptian way: and when he assigned the twentieth day for easter-sunday, he believed the close of that day to be the twenty-first. But it is obvious, that you are ignorant of this rule of distinction; for you sometimes hold easter before the full moon, that is, on the thirteenth day.* And, in regard to your father Columba and his followers, whose holiness you profess to imitate, and whose rule and precepts you allege to have been confirmed by heavenly signs, I might reply, that many will say to the Lord in the day of judgment, that in his name they have prophesied, and cast out devils, and done many wonderful works, to whom the Lord will answer that he never knew them.† But far be it from me to speak this of your fathers; for it is much more proper to believe good than evil, of those who are unknown to us. I do not, therefore, deny that they were the servants and favourites of God, who worshipped him with rustic simplicity, yet with pious intentions. Neither do I think that their mode of observing easter

* Here Wilfrid employs a piece of sophistry to get rid of Colman's argument; for it appears that, though the British churches did not adopt the same cycle with Anatolius, they agreed with him as to the day of the moon. See Smith's Bede, Appendix IX. p. 703. Wilfrid ought in candour to have allowed, that the Scotish church observed the evening of the thirteenth day, because, according to the computation of the Jews and other eastern nations, they considered it as in reality a part of the fourteenth; and Anatolius no doubt followed the same practice. † Matth. VII. 22, 23.

would be greatly prejudicial to them, so long as no one came to show them a more perfect rule; for I am persuaded, that if any person acquainted with the catholic computation had come to teach them, they would have received his instructions; since it appears that they followed the commands of God, as far as they knew them. But if you and your associates, after hearing the decrees of the apostolic see, nay, of the whole church, and these too confirmed by the sacred word, disdain to follow them, without doubt you are sinners. For, though your fathers were holy, is such a handful of saints, in one corner of a remote island, to be preferred to the whole church of Christ throughout the world? And if your Columba, (who is ours also, if he was Christ's,) was a holy man, and powerful in miracles, can he be preferred to the most blessed prince of apostles, to whom the Lord said; "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven?"*

Upon hearing these words of Wilfrid, the king thus addressed the bishop of Northumbria; "Is it true, Colman, that these things were spoken by our Lord to Peter?" The bishop answered, "True, O king." "And can you prove," says he, "that any such power was given to your Columba?" To this Colman replied in the negative. "Are you both agreed, then," adds the king, "that these things were principally

* Matth. XVI. 18, 19.

spoken to Peter, and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given him by the Lord?" They answered; "Yes, certainly."* "Well then," says Oswy, "I tell you that he is a porter whom I will not contradict; but to the utmost of my knowledge and ability, I will obey all his statutes; lest perhaps, when I come to the gates of heaven, there be none to open to me, being at variance with him who is acknowledged to hold the keys."

The king's speech was received with applause by all ranks in the assembly: which resolved accordingly, that the practice of the British church should be discontinued, and that of the church of Rome adopted in its stead. †

Colman might have replied, in answer to what Oswy and Wilfrid had advanced, that it still remained to be proved, that Peter observed easter in the mode for which the Romanists contended, and that he had given their church instructions on the subject. But finding himself deserted by many of his friends, who either yielded to the arguments of Wilfrid, or obsequiously bowed to the decision of Oswy, he made no

* It may be questioned whether Colman and Wilfrid understood the text alluded to, in the same gross sense in which it was viewed by Oswy. At any rate, this concession of Colman is no proof that he acknowledged the pope as the successor of Peter, or the vicar of Christ on earth. The conduct of himself and his brethren at this time is a proof that they believed no such thing. They might suppose from that text, that Peter had a pre-eminence above his brethren, without believing that he had appointed the bishops of Rome, or any other bishops, to be his successors. The Scotish, Irish, and Welsh churches did not submit to the church of Rome, till long after the time of this synod. † Bed. L. III. c. 25.

reply. Yet, though he was silenced, he was not convinced; and being no doubt disgusted with the insolence of Wilfrid, as well as mortified at the issue of the debate, he resolved to retire into his own country with such as chose to follow him; intending to consult with those of his own persuasion, before he would adopt the proposed innovations.

Another question that came before this synod related to the religious tonsure. Superstition had prescribed to the clergy of both parties a particular method of shaving the head; but the British churches adopted an oblong tonsure extending across the fore part of the head from ear to ear; whereas the church of Rome made use of a circular tonsure, intended to represent the crown of thorns. On this subject Wilfrid was well prepared to declaim, having himself received the true orthodox *cut* when in France; but, as the proposal of Oswy, in which the assembly acquiesced, included the adoption of all the ordinances, or pretended ordinances, of St. Peter, without exception, there was no need of any further discussion, the Romish party having already gained their point.*

It is amusing to observe the vast importance which our historian attaches to the frivolous subjects discussed in this synod, and the joy which he discovers at the issue of the debate. He regards the errors of Colman and his party as most dangerous

* Bed. L. III. c. 26. L. V. c. 21. Smith's Bede, Appendix IX. p. 705. In order to stigmatize the British tonsure, the Romanists asserted that it was first used by Simon Magus!

heresies; and while he extols their piety, he takes care to remind the reader that he viewed their schismatic courses with the utmost detestation.* Yet we may gather from his own narrative, that the change which the church of Northumbria now underwent was by no means for the better. He unintentionally pays the Scotish clergy a high compliment, when he states that they were ignorant of the decrees of councils, and diligently observed no other works of piety and purity than what they could learn in the prophets, the gospels, and the apostolical epistles.† They had indeed some superstitions; but they were strangers to that immense mass of ceremonies, with which the worship of God was encumbered by the church of Rome. They kept christmas, and lent, and easter, and whitsunday, with a few other festivals; but they knew not those crowds of holidays which filled the Romish calendar. They esteemed and recommended celibacy in the clergy; yet it was not enjoined by any of their canons.§

* Imme hoc multum detestans! L. III. c. 17. † Tantum ea quæ in Propheticis, Evangelicis, et Apostolicis litteris discere potérant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes. L. III. c. 4.

§ Among the acts of one of the Irish synods we find rules for the conduct of the wives of clergymen of every order. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 2. On this head, however, as well as in many other respects, the church of Rome was by no means so superstitious at that time as it afterwards became. Gregory, in his answers to Augustine, allowed some of the clergy to marry. Bed. L. I. c. 27. Even so late as the tenth century, we find the following law adopted by the Northumbrian church: Ly[illegible] preoſt cpeman popleꝛe. ⁊ oppe mme. anæpema ſie. "If a priest forsake his wife (or concubine), and take another, let him be accursed." Wilk. Conc. I. p. 219. XXXV. Catholics, however, in opposition to the obvious meaning of the words, allege that this rule only respects those priests who had been married in their secular state, and had put away their wives on entering the ministry. Lingard's Antiqs. p. 74.

Perhaps they made use of forms in some of their public services, and they appear to have had stated hours for devotion; but they had not learned that technical religion, which apportions to every day, and every hour, its quantum of scripture and psalmody and prayer. Their prayers appear to have been chiefly extemporary; and in the public reading of the scriptures, they do not seem to have been confined by any fixed rule, but might read more or less, as they had opportunity.* They venerated the remains of departed saints; but they did not employ relics to give sanctity to their churches: the bones of Columba and other saints of Iona were not disturbed, to furnish a supply of relics for the churches of Northumbria; nor did Aidan and his brethren import any of these *precious* commodities from the continent, like their neighbours in Kent. They set apart their churches to the service of God; but they never dedicated them to any of the saints, nor solicited their patronage. It was not till after the synod of Streoneshalh that the numerous churches erected by these worthy men underwent this species of consecration; for while Bede, in almost every instance where he records the erection of a church by the Romanists, takes care to tell us to what saint it was dedicated, he does not ascribe any one dedication of this sort to the brethren from Iona: on the contrary he informs us, that it was not till some years after

* This may be inferred from a variety of passages in Bede's writings. It was by the efforts of Theodore and Wilfrid, and of Benedict the first abbot of Wearmouth, that the Romish ritual, with all its mechanical forms, was introduced into the Northumbrian churches. Bed. L. IV. c. 2. 18. Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. et Gyrw.

their departure that the church of Lindisfarne, their principal church, was dedicated to the apostle Peter by archbishop Theodore;* that it was long after the death of Cedd when the church of Lestingham was dedicated to "the mother of God;"† and that the church of Ripon was dedicated to St. Peter by Wilfrid, not by Eata.§ Sometimes indeed, our historian names a church, by way of anticipation, from the saint to whom it was afterwards dedicated; as may be instanced in the church of Bebbanburgh, ‖ and that of Streoneshalh:‡ but we are not warranted to infer from this, that these churches were originally dedicated to saints; we can only conclude that they had undergone this dedication previous to the times when the history was written. Probably the church of Streoneshalh was dedicated to St. Peter about the time when Oswy was interred in it; that being the first funeral, at least the first royal funeral, performed there: yet it is not unlikely that this consecration might be deferred till after the death of lady Hilda herself.**

* L. III. c. 17, 25. † L. III. c. 28. § L. V. c. 19. Epitaph. Wilfr. ‖ L. III. c. 6. ‡ Ibid. c. 24. ** It is observable that the church of lady Hilda is not called St. Peter's in the account of the synod of Streoneshalh (L. III. c. 25.), where it is particularly mentioned, nor yet in the life of the abbess herself (L. IV. c. 23.); but only in the passage where the burial of Trumwine is mentioned, L. IV. c. 26. and in that where the burial of Ælfleda, Oswy, &c. is recorded, L. III. c. 24. I have already given my reasons for withdrawing the name of king Edwin from the list contained in the passage now referred to (See p. 116, 117.): and I would here add, that the error in that passage appears to have arisen from the carelessness of some transcriber. I am persuaded that instead of "et pater matris ejus Aeduini," we ought to read, "et frater ejus Aelfuini;" for it is highly probable that Ælfwine, who was so much beloved, would be buried at Streoneshalh, beside his father; especially as his mother and

The missionaries from Iona, and their disciples, appear to have surpassed the Romanists in piety and diligence, as much as they fell short of them in superstition. Our historian takes pleasure in recording their zeal, their humility, and their unwearied labours; he recurs to these topics again and again; and sets forth their activity and self-denial, to reprove the indolence and selfishness of some of their successors. These pious servants of Christ were far from seeking to make a gain of godliness; they had not learned to set a price on every act of devotion, and to limit their services by the extent of their emoluments; but with disinterested zeal they laboured "in season and out of season," and thought no exertions too great, by which they could profit the souls of men. They had not learned to confine their ministrations to consecrated walls, on pretence of conducting them with greater decorum,—a pretence which serves well as a cloak for indolence; but, like the primitive apostles, they preached and exhorted from village to village, and from house to house.

After their departure, the church of Northumbria soon began to decline. Its worship, indeed, became more splendid, its clergy more pompous, and its religious buildings more neat and commodious; but it was sadly defective in the superior ornaments of piety and goodness. There might indeed be many worthy,

sister were both living there. See B. IV. c. 24, 26. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, by observing that this young prince has sometimes been called *Aeduinus*, and that a place on the Trent, called *Aeduinstow*, has been thought to derive its name from his having been slain there. See Smith's Bede. p. 185. Note.

characters in the church of Rome at that period; for it was not half so corrupt as it afterwards became: yet it is very obvious from the statements of Bede, that an ambitious, worldly, and selfish spirit prevailed in that church to a much greater degree than among the Scotish clergy. Hence, before the death of that venerable presbyter, about 70 years after the synod of Streoneshalh, the indolence and avarice of the clergy, and the consequent immorality of the people, had grown to an enormous height. This we learn from the last of his writings, his letter to Ecgberct, bishop of York, where he states, that many towns and villages in retired situations were never visited by their bishop, in his spiritual capacity, during many years, while not one of them was exempted from contributing to his support; though he did not even send them a preacher to instruct them in the true faith, and teach them the difference between good and evil. "Thus," says he, "there are some bishops, who not only refuse to preach or confirm without hire, but, which is more criminal, who take fees which the Lord has forbidden, and neglect the ministry of the word which he has commanded."—"It is commonly reported of some bishops, that they have none for their companions who are men of any religion or sobriety; but rather such as are given to laughter and mirth, to rioting and drunkenness, and all the pleasures of a dissolute life; and who are more disposed to be daily feeding their belly with dainties, than their mind with heavenly feasts." Hence, as might be expected,

ignorance and vice increased to an alarming degree. Every species of crime was committed. Monasteries were established by men of no religion, merely to indulge in indolence and lust; and, through dint of money, their establishment was confirmed by kings and nobles, nay, even by bishops and abbots. In suggesting some remedies against such frightful corruptions, Bede proposes to Ecgberct, that more presbyters should be employed in preaching, and that several new bishoprics should be erected in the north of England, and the whole put under the inspection of his friend, that according to the plan of pope Gregory, York might become a metropolitan see.* Ecgberct adopted a part, at least, of this advice; for by his exertions the see of York was advanced soon after to the metropolitan rank, and Ecgberct himself became the first archbishop. But so far was this change from effecting any radical reformation, that, as we find from Alcuin, the learned disciple of Ecgberct, the land was soon after overwhelmed with a torrent of wickedness, the blackest crimes were every where committed with shameless audacity, and impurities of the grossest kind prevailed even in nunneries.†

* It appears from the remarks in this passage, that Gregory's letter on which I have animadverted in pages 108 and 109, had been communicated to Bede as a genuine document. But he might be imposed on by forged epistles, as well as by fabulous accounts of miracles. † Alcuini Epp. apud Lel. Coll. I. p. 395; et apud Gul. Malmesb. L. I. c. 3. Alcuin writes the best Latin I have met with among the monkish authors. He resided much on the continent, where he was the instructor of Charlemagne; with whose friendship and patronage he was honoured.

This melancholy declension in the Northumbrian church came on by slow degrees, and was but little perceived for some time after the synod of Streoneshalh. When Colman, with many of his friends, retired into Ireland,* numbers of their brethren and disciples remained behind; and though the latter complied with the Romanists in regard to easter and the clerical tonsure, they retained an attachment to their former simplicity, and contributed to check the progress of superstition and corruption. Oswy himself felt much regret in parting with Colman, and at his desire, promoted his friend Eata, abbot of Mailros, to be abbot of Lindisfarne. At the same time, the bishopric of Northumbria was given to Tuda, who was also his friend and fellow-labourer; but who was disposed to favour the proposed innovations, having been educated among the southern Scots, by whom the Romish institutions had been partly adopted.† His ministry, however, was of short duration. One of the

* Buchanan mentions one Colman, a pious bishop in Scotland about that time (Rer. Scot. L. V. c. 41.); but he must have been a different person from this Colman, who employed himself, after his retirement, in founding and governing two monasteries in Ireland. Bed. L. IV. c. 4. Charlton derives the name of Commondale (which he calls *Colmandale)* from Colman, and fancies that this bishop resided there; but it appears from Domesday, and other authorities, that the ancient name of that dale was *Camisedale.* This author is very unhappy in many of his etymologies: he supposes Edinburgh to have its name from bishop Aidan! Hist. of Whitby, p. 25, 15. † Bed. L. III. c. 26. By the southern Scots we are to understand the southern inhabitants of Ireland. L. III. c. 3. Ireland was the country then called *Scotia;* that name does not appear to have been given to North Britain till after the middle of the ninth century, when the Scotish kingdom which had been gradually formed in the western parts of North Britain by colonies from Ireland, overpowered the kingdom of the Picts, the descendants of the ancient Caledonians.

most dreadful pestilences recorded in history raged that year in Britain and Ireland, and cut off immense numbers of the inhabitants. Tuda was one of its victims, as was also the venerable Cedd, who died at his monastery of Lestingham, leaving his brother Ceadda, the last of the four brothers of that family, to succeed him as abbot. When the inhabitants of Essex received the news of the death of their bishop, about thirty of the monks, belonging to his monasteries there, came to Lestingham to shew their respect for his memory; but they all died of the plague, except a little boy who afterwards became a presbyter.*

The fame of Wilfrid was much increased by the abilities which he displayed at the synod of Streoneshalh; and, upon the death of Tuda, king Alchfrid, who was proud of his learned friend, embraced this opportunity of procuring his advancement to the episcopal dignity; and, with the consent of his father Oswy, sent him into France to be ordained. This journey was probably undertaken by Wilfrid, at his own request, that he might be ordained in the most canonical form: and with the same view, he would not be ordained at an ordinary meeting of bishops, but waited till his ordination could be performed with a splendour suited to his taste; which was at last accomplished in the church of Compeigne, twelve bishops being present on the occasion, among whom was his friend Agilbert, then bishop of Paris.

* Ibid. c. 27, 28.

In the mean time king Oswy, desirous of having the see of Northumbria more speedily filled, dissatisfied perhaps at the delays and forms of the church of Rome, and retaining his attachment to the disciples of Aidan, resolved to prefer Ceadda to the bishopric; and sent him to be ordained by Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury. Ceadda and his companions, on arriving in Kent, found that the object of their journey could not be accomplished, in consequence of the death of that prelate; they therefore turned aside into Wessex, where Ceadda was ordained by Wini, bishop of that province, two of the British or Welsh bishops assisting at the ordination. Returning to Northumbria, he entered on the duties of his office, with the same zeal and activity, the same humility and self-denial, which appeared in his preceptor Aidan, and his brother Cedd. He travelled on foot throughout his diocese, preaching the gospel in every quarter: the town and the country, the castle and the cottage, alike enjoyed the blessings of his ministry. After Ceadda had commenced his labours, Wilfrid at last returned from the continent; but finding the see of Northumbria pre-occupied, he officiated in the vacant diocese of Canterbury, till the arrival of archbishop Theodore.*

The new archbishop, soon after his arrival, made a tour through all the dioceses in the Saxon kingdoms, attended by his friend Hadrian, with a view to reduce them all into full subjection to the church of Rome

* Bed. L. III. c. 28. L. IV. c. 2. L. V. c. 19.

and to the see of Canterbury.* When he visited Northumbria he told Ceadda, who had then held the bishopric for three years, that he understood that he had not been duly ordained. "If that be the case," replied the humble Ceadda, "I willingly resign the office; for indeed, I never thought myself worthy of it, but only consented to take it at the command of others." Theodore, admiring the humility of his answer, told him that there was no need for him to resign: and instead of removing him from his office, he ordained him anew, after the catholic form.†

* Theodore, like Paul, was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia: he was chosen and ordained by the Pope himself, on the recommendation of Hadrian an Italian abbot, to whom the dignity had been previously offered. Hadrian accompanied him to England, where he was made abbot of Canterbury. The kings of Kent and Northumberland had sent one Wighard to Rome to be ordained archbishop; but he and most of his attendants died there of the plague. Bede gives us a copy of pope Vitalian's letter to Oswy on that occasion, omitting some of his remarks on easter. The part omitted was, it seems, found long after in an ancient parchment belonging to Whitby abbey. L. III. c. 29. L. IV. c. 1. Smith's Bede, p. 139. Note. † Most of the later monkish writers, being very partial to Wilfrid, consider Ceadda as an intruder, and tell us that Theodore degraded him, and viewed his ordination as irregular, chiefly because the see was already filled by Wilfrid, though he had not arrived to take possession; but there is reason to believe from Bede's account, that Ceadda was ordained first; and it appears also that a reasonable time had been allowed for Wilfrid's journey and ordination, as Ceadda did not enter on his office till the year 666, having filled it but three years at the time of Theodore's tour, in the summer of 669. (L. V. c. 19. IV. c. 2.) Had Theodore objected to Ceadda's ordination on that ground, he would not have told him that it was unnecessary for him to resign the bishopric, much less would he have ordained him to it anew, as Bede expressly states. L. IV. c. 2. The true reason why Theodore considered his ordination as uncanonical, was because two of the bishops who ordained him were not of the Romish, but of the British church; and perhaps also because some of the usual forms and ceremonies, which the British bishops disliked, had been omitted at their desire. Bed. L. III. c. 28.

Ceadda, however, perceiving that he stood in the way of Wilfrid, whose services were no more needed in Kent, retired soon after to his monastery at Lestingham, resigning the bishopric into Wilfrid's hands. In the mean time, the diocese of Mercia becoming vacant by the death of bishop Jaruman, Ceadda, by the direction of Theodore, and with the consent of Oswy, was appointed to that bishopric. His advancement to this extensive charge, which comprised the whole of Mercia, with the province of Lindissy, or Lincolnshire, produced no change in his dispositions or habits: he was still characterized by the same simplicity, humility, and pious zeal as before. His principal residence was at Lichfield, and he was the first of the Mercian bishops who made that place an episcopal seat; having probably preferred it, for its retired situation.* From this place he made excursions

* Bed. L. IV. c. 3. It is observable that Lichfield is not mentioned as a town or a village; but is described in terms which imply that it was then very obscure—"in loco qui vocatur Lyccidfelth"—"in a place which is called Lichfield."—Among the fables which William of Malmesbury gives us concerning Wilfrid, it is stated, that Wilfrid, on finding his see usurped by Ceadda, humbly retired to his monastery at Ripon, where he lived three years; that during this period he received frequent invitations from Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who gave him Lichfield that he might make it either a bishopric or a monastery; and that when Theodore degraded Ceadda, Wilfrid had compassion on him, and after passing him through all his degrees canonically, raised him to the bishopric of Lichfield! Gul. Malmes. de Gest. Pont. L. III. It is clear from Bede, that Wilfrid spent the interval between his arrival and that of Theodore chiefly, if not wholly, in Kent; and it is not unlikely that he entertained hopes of being archbishop of Canterbury himself.—Wilfridus quoque de Brittania Galliam ordinandus est missus: et quoniam ante Theodorum rediit, ipse etiam in Cantia Presbyteros et Diaconos, usquedum Archiepiscopus ad sedem suam perveniret, ordinabat. L. IV. c. 2. As there is no more mention of king Alchfrid, the patron of Wilfrid, after the

from time to time to the different parts of his diocese, to preach the gospel; yet though his journeys were long and frequent, such was his apostolic simplicity, that he would not make use of a horse, till he was in a manner compelled to it by Theodore, who set him on horseback with his own hands. But the labours of this worthy disciple of Aidan were soon brought to a period, for he died about two years and a half after his translation to the see of Mercia. Some of the monks of Lestingham appear to have followed him into Mercia; for Owin, an eminent brother of that monastery, was living with him at Lichfield when his dissolution took place. The Mercians regretted his death, and according to the fashion of the times, his memory was emblazoned with miracles.*

I have been the more particular in this account of Ceadda, as he was not only abbot of Lestingham,

mission of the latter into France, it is likely that the rebellion and death of that prince occurred before his return. See p. 32. In that case, Wilfrid, on his arrival, could have no hope of establishing his claim to the see of Northumbria, in opposition to Ceadda whom Oswy had chosen; till he was backed by the influence of Theodore: and even then, his success was owing to the humility of Ceadda who gave way to him, rather than to the interference of the archbishop. On the other hand, it was by Theodore, not by Wilfrid, that Ceadda was raised to the see of Mercia, upon the death of bishop Jaruman. The story about giving Lichfield to Wilfrid is altogether ridiculous. What? to make it *either a bishopric or a monastery*—vel episcopatum vel monasterium! And that too while the worthy Jaruman, in whose diocese it was situated, was still alive!

* Bed. L. IV. c. 3. He is usually called St. Chad. His friend Owin came out of East-Anglia, being the chief officer in the retinue of the princess Etheldrith, at her marriage with prince Ecgfrid. When he renounced the court for the cloister, he came to Lestingham in a homely dress, carrying an axe and an adze in his hand, to intimate that he did not come for idleness, but for labour; a profession with which his future life fully corresponded.

which is in our district, but was one of the most eminent of those preachers who were educated by the Scotish missionaries. Another noted disciple of the same school was the famous St. Cuthbert, whom I shall have occasion to mention more particularly in the history of Ælfleda. Like his instructors, he was a zealous and laborious preacher, often itinerating among the villages and hamlets; and such was his assiduity in these labours of love, that he sometimes spent three weeks or a month in one excursion.*

But few, if any, of the disciples of Aidan and his brethren, rose to greater eminence than our own lady Hilda; to whose history, after this long digression, I shall now return.

* Vita S. Cudb. c. 9.

CHAP. IV.

CEDMON THE POET, AND OTHER EMINENT MEN IN LADY HILDA'S MONASTERY.

THE monastery of Streoneshalh, like most of the other monastic establishments in Northumbria and the adjacent provinces, was in the times of lady Hilda and her immediate successors, a *double* monastery, intended for the accommodation of monks as well as nuns. There were not only male officers and servants, employed in managing the outward business of the institution, which females could not be expected to conduct; but there were also several monks belonging to the establishment, who had adopted the religious habit, engaged in the same devotional exercises as the nuns, were subject to similar rules, and submitted to the maternal authority of the abbess. The brethren and sisters lived in separate parts of the convent; but they met together daily in the church, for reading the scriptures, and for public worship.

Among the brethren who entered the monastery of lady Hilda, one of the most remarkable was Cedmon the poet, who is said to have learned the art of poetry by divine inspiration. He had lived in a secular

habit till he was considerably advanced in years, and was so far from being distinguished by any poetical talents, that he could not even sing a song; for sometimes when he attended a feast, and the company began to sing songs in their turns, playing at the same time on the harp, as soon as he saw the harp coming round to him, he rose up from supper and withdrew to his own house, that he might not expose his ignorance. One evening, says our historian, when he had thus left an entertainment, and retired to the stalls, the oxen* having been committed to his care for that night, he soon after laid himself down to rest and fell asleep, and presently a person appeared to him in a dream, and addressed him by name, saying, "Cedmon, sing me something." He answered, "I cannot sing; for therefore have I come hither from the feast, because I could not sing." The person replied, "But you must sing to me." "What must I sing?" says Cedmon. "Sing the beginning of the creatures." Upon this Cedmon began to sing some verses which he had never heard, to the praise of God the Creator. When he awoke from his sleep he remembered all that he had sung in his dream; and he was able soon after to compose several other verses on the same subject.

The hymn which Cedmon is said to have composed in his sleep has come down to our times, being preserved in Alfred's Saxon version of Bede, and as

* The word *jumenta=beasts of burden*, is used for *horses* as well as *oxen*; but Alfred translates it Neoza=*Oxen*.

it is the oldest specimen of Saxon poetry that is extant, and the first work which Whitby had the honour of producing, I have given the whole of it in a note, together with an English translation.*

Cedmon coming in the morning to his master, who was the chief man of the village, made known to him the gift which he had received; and being afterwards brought into the presence of the abbess and of many learned men, he was desired to tell his dream and repeat his song; upon which, we are told, they were all persuaded that this heavenly gift had been granted him by the Lord. They then recited to him a piece of sacred history, desiring him to turn it

*. Nu pe rceolan hepiȝean	Now we must praise
Þeoꝛon picer peaꝛd	The heavenly kingdom's Guardian,
Metodes mihte	The Creator's might,
And hiꝛ mod ȝepanc.	And the thoughts of his mind;
Weoꝛc puldoꝛ ꝼæden.	Glorious father of works!
Spa he pundeꝛ ȝehpæꝛ	How he of every glory
Ece Dryhten	Eternal Lord!
Oꝛd onꝛtealde.	Established the beginning.
Þe æreꝛt ȝeꝛcop	He first framed
Eoꝛðan bearnum	For the children of earth
Þeoꝛon to hoꝛe	The heaven for a roof
Halig ꝛcyppend.	Holy Maker!
Da middan ȝeaꝛd	The middle region,
Mon cynnes peaꝛd	Mankind's Guardian,
Ece Dryhten	The Lord eternal,
Æꝛter teode	Afterwards made
Firum foldan	A dwelling for men;
Frea ælmihtiȝ	Almighty Ruler!

The translation which I have given is not only literal, but corresponds line for line with the original. The rules of the Saxon poetry are very imperfectly known. There is no rhyme observed in these lines, except in the 13th and 14th lines; but we perceive a peculiar cadence running through the whole. In line 13th, the earth is called middan geard=the middle region, or division; being supposed to be placed in the middle between heaven and hell. The word foldan=*a fold*, in the 17th line, is used to signify *the earth*.

into verse; and he having undertaken the task, went home to his own house, and returned in the morning with an excellent poem on the subject prescribed. The abbess admiring the gift of God bestowed on him, advised him to lay aside his secular habit, and adopt the monastic life; and, in compliance with her counsel, he entered the monastery with all his family,* and was admitted among the brethren. She ordered him to be taught the series of sacred history; and he improved every portion which he learned, by ruminating upon it, and turning it into pleasant verse; and, while he sweetly sung these poetic compositions, his teachers became in their turn his scholars. In this manner he translated a great portion of the scriptures into Saxon verse; for he sang of the creation of the world, the origin of the human race, and the whole history of Genesis; of the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, and their entrance into the promised land, with many other passages of the ancient scripture history; and of the incarnation

* Cum omnibus suis. Bed. L. IV. c. 24. Alfred translates these words; Mid hiȝ ȝodum—"With his goods;" but as Cedmon had a house of his own, and was not a young man, it is probable that he had some family, or at least some of his kindred living with him; and these words, from the connection in which they stand, appear rather to refer to his family than to his property.—It is not known to what village Cedmon belonged, previous to his entering the monastery; but it must have been some village not far from Streoneshalh. The notion that he lived at Eskdaleside is only a conjecture of Charlton. It does not appear that there was any hermitage there in Hilda's time, nor indeed at any time before the conquest. Equally groundless is his fancy that the modern name *Sedman* is derived from the name of this poet. The name Sedman seems to be either a contraction for *Seedman*, or a corruption of *Sodman;* but most probably the latter, as the word *sod* is still pronounced *sed* in some parts of the country.

of our Lord, his passion, resurrection, and ascension to heaven, the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the preaching of the apostles. He likewise composed many verses on the terrors of a future judgment, the horrors of hell, and the delights of the kingdom of heaven: as also on a variety of the mercies and judgments of God. All his poems were religious, calculated to draw men from the pursuits of sin, and lead them to the love and practice of goodness: and he himself was distinguished for piety, regularity, and zeal.

Cedmon, when he entered the monastery, could neither read nor write; yet he ranks high among the Anglo-Saxon poets. Like every successful poet, he had a croud of imitators; but none of them could equal him. His works are the more interesting, as they exhibit one of the first attempts at a vernacular translation, or paraphrase of the scriptures, that was made among our ancestors; and in this point of view, they must have been extremely useful in promoting the knowledge of the divine word, especially as their attractive form was adapted to awaken the attention and impress the memory. As yet the Saxons had only a few portions of the scriptures in their own language. They were taught to repeat the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed in their own tongue, as we find from Bede's Epistle to Ecgberct; and Bede himself, according to his disciple and biographer, Cuthbert, made a vernacular translation of the Gospel of John; but the Saxon translation of all the

four gospels, in which Bede's version of John was probably made use of, must have been completed at a later era.

Cedmon's hymn, which he composed beside the oxen, is not the only part of his works which has reached our times. A considerable portion of his poetical paraphrase, mentioned by Bede, is still extant; and has been published by Junius, the learned editor of the Gothic version of the gospels. It is the first part of Cedmon's work, commencing with the fall of the angels, and the creation of the world, and comprising the history of Adam and Eve; of Cain, and the deluge; of Abraham, and Moses; with some account of Nabuchodonosor and Daniel. In describing the fall of the angels, the ideas of Cedmon have so much resemblance to those of Milton, that one might be tempted to think that the latter must have been borrowed from the former. The whole production is curious and interesting, and does honour to the memory of the poet of Streoneshalh.*

* Some authors have supposed that the poetical description of the battle of Brunanburh, inserted in the Saxon Chronicle, is one of Cedmon's odes, altered to suit the occasion; but it is much more probable that it was composed at the time, though the author might borrow some of Cedmon's expressions. On the other hand, some have attempted, without sufficient reason, to rob our Cedmon of the honour of composing the poetical paraphrase, and ascribe it to some unknown Cedmon, of a later age. It seems to bear intrinsic evidence of its being the work of our poet; for the subjects correspond exactly with those on which our Cedmon wrote, the poem is composed in the same style with the hymn which is allowed to be his, it abounds with the same kind of expressions, and the exordium commences with the very same sentiment with which the hymn begins. This the reader may observe in the following lines:—

Us is þæt micel	To us it is very right,
Ðæt we noðera peard	That we the Guardian of the skies,

The end of Cedmon was peace. His last illness, which continued about a fortnight, was so gentle, that none but himself perceived the approach of death.

Wepeoa pulðop cyninʒ	The glorious King of hosts,
Woꞃðum hefiʒen	With words should praise,
Moðum luꞃien.	With minds should love.
Þe iꞃ mæʒna ꞃpeð	He is rich in power,
Þeaꞃod ealpa	Head of all,
Þeah ʒefceaꞃta	High over the creatures,
Fiea ælmihtiʒ	Ruler Almghty.

Perhaps the 7th and 8th lines may be better translated; "High Head of all creatures."

The following is a part of Cedmon's account of the creation, being a paraphrase on the first verses of the Book of Genesis.

Ne pæꞃ heꞃ þa ʒiet	There was not then yet,
Nymðe heolꞃtoꞃ ꞃceaðo	Except surrounding darkness,
Wiht ʒeponden	Any thing made;
Ac þeꞃ piða ʒꞃund	But the wide ground
Stoð deop ʒ ðim	Stood deep and dim,
Dꞃihtne fiemðe	A stranger to the Lord,
Idel ʒ unnyt	Void and unprofitable.
On þone eaʒum plat	On this his eyes he glanced,
Stið fꞃiðʒ cyninʒ	The powerful King of peace,
And þa ꞃtope beheolð	And beheld the place
Dꞃeamaleaꞃe	Destitute of joy;
Leꞃeah deopc ʒepeopc	He saw the dark clouds
Semian ꞃynnihte	Perpetually press,
Speaꞃt undep nodefinum	Black under the sky,
Wonne ʒ peꞃte	Desert and waste;
Oð þa þeoꞃ poꞃuld ʒefceaft	Until this world's creation
Ðuꞃh popð ʒepeaꞃð	Through the word was done
Wuldop cyninʒef	Of the King of glory.
Þeꞃ æꞃeꞃt ʒefceop	Here first made,
Ece Dꞃihten	The Eternal Lord,
Þelm eall pihta	Protector of all things,
Þeopon ʒ eoꞃþan	Heaven and earth;
Rodop aꞃæꞃde	The sky he reared,
And þiꞃ ꞃume land	And this spacious land
Leꞃtapelode	He established
Stꞃanʒum mihtum	With strong power;
Fiea ælmihtiʒ	Almighty Ruler!
Folde pæꞃ þa ʒyta	The earth was as yet
Ꞃiæf unʒfene	With grass not green,
Laꞃꞃecʒ þeahte	With the ocean covered,

In the evening before his departure, he was in a part of the monastery adjoining to the house* where the very weak and dying were usually lodged; and when night came on, he desired his attendant to prepare him a place of rest in that house. The attendant was surprised at this request, as he did not appear to be dying; yet, in compliance with his wishes, he was removed thither. He conversed chearfully with those who were beside him till after midnight, when he inquired if they had the eucharist there. "What occasion is there for the eucharist?" said they: "you cannot be near death, when you can talk with us so pleasantly." "However," said he, "bring me the

Speapc ſýnnihte	Perpetually black;
Siðe ϸ píðe	Far and wide,
Wonne peȝaſ.	Desert ways.

These extracts from Cedman's Paraphrase, with a translation of some other passages, the reader will find in Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, Vol. IV. pp. 386—391, and 411, 412. In some lines I have ventured to depart very considerably from the translation given by that learned author: at the same time it must be owned, that some of Cedmon's expressions are so obscure, that it is not easy to ascertain their precise meaning. The 2nd line seems to denote literally "Except a covering shadow"—corresponding with the words, "Darkness was upon the face of the deep." The 9th line Stíð ƿrið cýniȝ is translated by Turner "The King stern in mind;" but there is a great impropriety in applying the word *stern* to the Supreme Being. Stíð literally signifies *hard*, and may very well be rendered *strong*, *firm*, or *powerful*. If ƿrið be taken for ƿeorð which denotes mind, the line may be translated "The King strong in mind." But as ƿrið or ƿriþ signifies *peace*, (as *fred* still does in the Swedish language, and *friede* in the German) I have translated this epithet of God, "The powerful King of peace."

* *Casa*—the *cottage* or *hut*. The buildings belonging to the monasteries of that age appear to have consisted of so many separate cottages or huts, reared with wood and covered with thatch; some of which were larger and some smaller, according to the uses to which they were appropriated.

eucharist." On taking it in his hand, he asked if their minds were all at peace with him, without any ground of quarrel or enmity. They all replied, that they were in perfect friendship with him; and when they put a similar question to him, he answered; "My children, I am in charity with all the servants of God. "Then strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, he prepared for his entrance on another life; and inquired how near the hour was when the brethren should be called up to sing their midnight praises to the Lord. They replied, "It is not far off." "Well, then," said he, "let us wait for that hour:" and signing himself with the sign of the cross, he leaned his head on the pillow, and soon breathed his last in a gentle slumber.*

But Cedmon was not the only distinguished character in lady Hilda's monastery; there were several others educated there, who rose to great eminence in the Anglo-Saxon church. Of this number was Bosa, who in the year 678 was raised to the see of York. The circumstances attending his elevation are too important to be passed over in silence. After Ceadda had resigned the bishopric of Northumbria to Wilfrid, the latter soon ingratiated himself with king Oswy; who became so much attached to him, and to the Romish church, that in his last illness, he purposed, if he should recover, to undertake a pilgrimage

* Bed. L. IV. c. 24. It is not known in what year Cedmon died; but his death is supposed to have taken place near the close of lady Hilda's life, that is, about the year 679 or 680.

to Rome, with Wilfrid for his companion and guide.* During the first years of Ecgfrid, the bishop was still a favourite at court, the *virgin* queen Etheldrith being greatly attached to him; and, while his reputation for piety procured him many rich gifts and legacies, the conquests of Ecgfrid extended the limits of his episcopal jurisdiction. But when Etheldrith had exchanged the crown for the veil, and Ecgfrid had been married to Ermenburga,† Wilfrid's influence at court began to decline. Perhaps the praises which he lavished on Etheldrith were regarded by Ermenburga as reflections on herself; at any rate the courtiers, who envied the riches and splendour of the prelate, found means to excite a prejudice against him in the minds of the royal pair, and especially in the queen. Indeed, the pomp which he assumed, which by no means agreed with his profession as a minister of the lowly Jesus, and which formed a compleat contrast to the simplicity of his predecessors, could not fail to be disgusting to multitudes, both at the court and in the country. His revenue from monasteries and churches was immense, he was served in gold and silver plate, and a crowd of attendants in splendid liveries constantly waited on him. Many, therefore, began to remark, that the emoluments which supported so much pride and magnificence, might suffice

* Bed. L. IV. c. 5. † As Etheldrith lived twelve years with Ecgfrid, and his marriage with Ermenburga took place before the year 678, it is obvious that he must have married Etheldrith several years before his accession to the throne in 670. Bed. L. IV. c. 19. Gul. Malm. de G. Pon. L. III.

for three or four bishops. These things being represented to archbishop Theodore, he immediately resolved on dividing the overgrown diocese of Northumbria into two or more bishoprics. This was conformable to the plan which Theodore had already adopted; for at the synod of Herutford, at which he presided, (A. D. 673) a resolution was passed, "That the number of the bishops should be increased, in proportion to the growing numbers of the faithful." This resolution had already been acted upon in East-Anglia, where two bishops had lately been appointed instead of one;* and Theodore would gladly seize the first opportunity of adopting the same policy in regard to the extensive diocese of Northumbria. But Wilfrid would not listen to any such proposal; he regarded the division of his diocese as a species of robbery, and after some ineffectual remonstrances he appealed to the pope. This was a new thing in the Anglo-Saxon church. Whatever respect had been shewn to the see of Rome, none had hitherto appealed to its authority: and this appeal was an important step towards that compleat subjection to the see of Rome, to which the churches in Britain were afterwards reduced. Wilfrid's appeal, however, had no effect in retarding the proceedings of Ecgfrid and Theodore; but rather hastened his compleat expulsion from the bishopric.

* Bed. L. IV. c. 5. It is conjectured that Winfrid, bishop of Mercia, the successor of Ceadda, who was soon after deprived of his dignity by Theodore, (c. 6.) was deposed on account of his refusing to consent to the division of his diocese. Smith's Bede, p. 149. Note. Yet it does not appear that the diocese was divided immediately after his deposition.

The archbishop held a council at York, and Wilfrid being excluded, the see of Northumbria was divided, like the kingdom, into two provinces; Bosa was ordained bishop of Deira, while Eata, the abbot of Lindisfarne, was made bishop of Bernicia.*

In these transactions Hilda appears to have had an important share. She is enrolled by William of Malmesbury among the determined opponents of Wilfrid; and he expresses his surprise that Theodore, Bosa, Hilda, &c. who were noted for piety, should unite in running down such a worthy prelate. In the letter of pope John, written, according to that author, several years after, to Aldfrid and Ethelred, the abbess Hilda is particularly mentioned as joining with Theodore in sending messengers to Rome to accuse Wilfrid; and though the authenticity of that letter is very questionable, there can be no doubt of Hilda's opposition to Wilfrid. That venerable abbess, who was a true disciple of Aidan, and in whose monastery a primitive simplicity reigned, must have regarded this lordly bishop as very unfit for the office which he filled: and it was probably on her recommendation, or from respect for her character, that Bosa, her friend and disciple, was appointed to the bishopric of Deira.

Wilfrid having arrived at Rome, after a tedious journey, and a long stay in Friesland, where he preached the gospel to the inhabitants during the winter, met with the most cordial reception from

* Bed. L. IV. c. 12. L. V. c. 19. Gul. Malm. de G. Pon. L. III.

pope Agatho and his court. His appeal was eagerly listened to, he was acquitted of all charges "certain and uncertain," and a decree was passed in his favour restoring him to all his honours and emoluments. Indeed, he does not appear to have been charged with any crimes except pride, ambition, and avarice;—crimes, which were not the most likely to meet with severe reprobation at the court of the lordly pontiff and his associates, and which could easily be overlooked in a man whose haughty and aspiring temper afforded them such a favourable opportunity of extending their power. Wilfrid was embraced and honoured as one of their best friends; and a council being held at that time to condemn the heresy of the Monothelites, he was admitted to sit in it as the representative, not only of the church of Northumbria, but of all the churches in Britain and Ireland; and his subscription to the catholic faith, in the name of all the churches of the Saxons, Britons, Scots, and Picts, was particularly and ostentatiously recorded in the minutes of the council!

Wilfrid returned from Rome in triumph; yet the reception which he had met with there, had no effect in restoring him to his bishopric. The time was not yet arrived, when the decrees of popes and cardinals could agitate mighty nations, and when the thunders of the vatican could shake the thrones of potent princes. Ecgfrid regarded the papal mandate with the utmost contempt, and according to some accounts, he even threw Wilfrid into prison for a time, for

presuming to present it to him; and the disappointed prelate, finding no redress, retired into the south of England, where he laboured for some years in the kingdom of Sussex. Even Theodore himself was so far from taking measures for re-instating Wilfrid, that in the year 681, he subdivided the province of Bernicia into two bishoprics, and also appointed a bishop for that part of the country of the Picts which was then subject to Ecgfrid: and as he had also erected Lindissy (or Lincolnshire) into a bishopric, at the time of Wilfrid's expulsion, the extensive diocese which that prelate had occupied, was now divided into no less than five bishoprics. It is observable, that in the appointment of the new bishops, none were elected who were likely to become, like Wilfrid, the tools of the church of Rome; for most, if not all of them, were the disciples of Aidan, or of his successors or followers. Eata, who was bishop of Lindisfarne, or of the eastern part of Bernicia, was one of Aidan's disciples; Eadhæd, bishop of Lindissy, was the friend and disciple of Cedd and Ceadda; Bosa, bishop of Deira, was educated under lady Hilda; and Trumwine, bishop of the Picts, was of the same party, for when he was compelled to abandon his diocese, he retired to the monastery of Streoneshalh, in preference to any other. In regard to Tunberct, who was made bishop of Hagustald or Hexham, and had for his diocese the western part of Bernicia, we know very little; but when he was deposed by Theodore, in the year 684, the famous

Cuthbert, a disciple of Eata, was chosen to succeed him; and not long after, Cuthbert was, by his own desire, translated to the see of Lindisfarne, while Eata removed to that of Hexham.*

But there were other monks of Hilda's monastery who rose to the same rank as Bosa. The famous bishop John, usually called St. John of Beverley, was one of her disciples; though his preferment did not take place till after her decease. In the beginning of Aldfrid's reign, in the end of 685 or early in 686, Eata, bishop of Hexham, died, and John was ordained his successor. About a year after, Bosa, the worthy bishop of York,† died, and John was appointed to succeed him, while Wilfrid, after a long exile, was recalled to occupy the see of Hexham. The spirit of that haughty prelate had been so far subdued, that he was willing to accept a diocese, which formed but a small part of his former jurisdiction. On the death of bishop Cuthbert in 687, the see of Lindisfarne was also committed to his care, till the ordination of Eadbert, the successor of Cuthbert; which, owing to some confusion at that period, did not take place till the year following. But the restless and ambitious temper of Wilfrid was not long in exciting fresh troubles; and Aldfrid, with the other bishops, expelled him again from the Northumbrian church; to which, however, he was restored a second

*. Bed. L. IV. c. 12, 13, 28. V. 18. Vita S. Cudberti, c. 24, 25, &c. Sim. Dunelm. c. 9. † He was, strictly speaking, the first bishop of *York*; for Deira, his diocese, was nearly the same with what was afterwards called the diocese of York. His predecessors were bishops of all Northumbria.

time, and re-instated in the see of Hexham, during the reign of Osred; as I shall afterwards have occasion to state more fully. In the mean time, John continued to fill the see of York with great reputation. He was bishop of Deira for upwards of thirty years; and if we refuse our assent to the accounts of the miracles ascribed to him, we may at least believe that, throughout the course of his long life, he maintained a high character for piety and goodness, and reflected much honour on the monastery of Streoneshalh where he was educated.* At an advanced age, he retired to his monastery at Beverley, which is thought to have been his native place, and there he finished his course in the year 721.†

* Drake states, but without authority, that he was for some time under the tuition of Theodore before his ordination. Much more groundless is the notion that John was a student in the university of Oxford;—a university which had no existence for many hundred years after his death! The monasteries were the only universities of that age. † Bed. L. IV. c. 28, 29. L. V. c. 2—6, 19. Vita S. Cudb. c. 40. Sim. Dunelm. c. 11.—The account which I have given of the transactions relating to Wilfrid, Bosa, &c. differs materially from that of most historians. It is commonly stated, that Wilfrid when he was recalled by Aldfrid, in 686 or 687, was fully re-instated in his former diocese; or at least that after being a year at Hexham, he was removed to York, and constituted bishop of all Northumbria; that John and Bosa were expelled to make room for him, and that Cuthbert voluntarily abdicated for the same purpose; that, upon his second expulsion, John was restored to the see of Hexham, and Bosa to that of York; and that the latter lived till about the time of Wilfrid's second restoration, (A. D 705) when John succeeded him at York, and Wilfrid obtained the see of Hexham. These statements rest on the authority of Heddius and William of Malmesbury; but upon a careful examination of Bede, whose authority is of far greater weight, it appears to me more probable, that Wilfrid never recovered the see of York after his first expulsion, but was merely bishop of Hexham; that Bosa was never disturbed in the possession of his see, but died before Wilfrid's first restoration; that John was not removed to make way for Wilfrid, but was translated to a more important see, while Wilfrid was recalled to occupy the inferior station which John had left;

His successor, Wilfrid II., one of his presbyters, was also educated at Streoneshalh; and was the third bishop of York whom that monastery had the honour

and that John continued in the uninterrupted enjoyment of the see of York from the time of his translation till the close of his life, when he retired to Beverley. These sentiments are decidedly held by the learned professor Smith in his Notes on Bede. His son, who wrote the life of Wilfrid, in the Appendix to Bede, No. XIX., adopts the narrative of Heddius and Malmesbury, and complains that Wharton had misled his father: but perhaps the father will be found more correct than the son. Bede, indeed, in his account of Wilfrid (L. V. c. 19.), uses expressions which might lead us to suppose that that bishop, both at his first and last restoration, was fully invested with his former episcopal dignity, were not these expressions otherwise explained in other passages of his history. In regard to Wilfrid's first restoration, in the 2nd year of Aldfrid, he says, "Sedem suam et Episcopatum, ipso Rege invitante, recepit;" and in regard to his last restoration, in the beginning of Osred's reign, he says, "In Præsulatum sit sum receptus Ecclesiæ:" but the following passages indicate that by these expressions only a part of his former see is meant: "Cum reverentissimus vir Vilfrid post longum exilium in episcopatum esset *Hagustaldensis* ecclesiæ receptus, et idem Johannes, defuncto Bosa viro multæ sanctitatis et humilitatis, episcopus pro eo Eboraci substitutus, &c." L. V. c. 3. "Suscepit vero pro Vilfrido episcopatum *Hagustaldensis* ecclesiæ Acca presbyter ejus." c. 20. It is generally allowed, as appears indeed from Malmesbury himself, that Wilfrid, on his second restoration, only recovered the diocese of Hexham, and was not bishop of York; and if the first of the passages now quoted relates to his first restoration, it proves that at that time also, he was only made bishop of Hexham, in the room of John who was translated to the see of York, which had become vacant by the death of Bosa. It seems most natural to understand it of his first restoration, as Bede does not give us the smallest hint concerning the supposed expulsion or resignation of either Bosa, or John, or Cuthbert. The latter, indeed, lived as an anchorite for some weeks before his death, yet the affairs of his diocese continued to be administered in his name; and though, after his death, they were managed for a time by Wilfrid, that was merely a temporary occupation of the diocese till the election of a new bishop; a charge which would naturally devolve on the bishop of Hexham, as being the nearest to the see of Lindisfarne: "Episcopatum ecclesiæ illius anno uno servabat venerabilis antistes Vilfrid. donec eligeretur qui pro Cudbercto antistes ordinari deberet." L. IV. c. 29. The ordination of Eadbert to the see of Lindisfarne, in 688, which was three years before the second expulsion of Wilfrid, is a clear proof that the latter only held a part of his former diocese. The application of the passage above quoted

of furnishing. But as his elevation to the bishopric did not take place till about forty years after the death of lady Hilda, it is not likely that he received any part of his education under her care.

(L. V. c. 3) to Wilfrid's first restoration is objected to by Mr. Smith (the younger), because the chief transaction recorded in that chapter must be supposed to have occurred after the death of Theodore in 690; but he should have observed, that the historian merely states that it took place after John's translation to York, and without specifying the year, he says that it happened "quodam tempore"—*upon a time;* which might be several years after. The strongest objections against the view which I have given of the subject, are, that in the chapter preceding (L. V. c. 2) there are some expressions which seem to imply that John was longer in the see of Hexham than the time allotted him; and that, according to this view, there is no account of any bishop who filled that see during Wilfrid's second exile. As to the first, I would remark, that the contents of that chapter are chiefly of the marvellous kind, on which we cannot lay much stress; and respecting the second, I would notice, that there are more material omissions in the history of that period. The authority of Heddius or of William of Malmesbury, must be of small account, when opposed to that of Bede. I have not seen the life of Wilfrid ascribed to Heddius Stephanus, his co-temporary; but, on reading William of Malmesbury, who professedly copies it, I find that it abounds with monstrous fictions, more likely to be the work of a later age. Some of these fables have already been noticed. (See the note on p. 179.) The rest are of a similar description, intended to raise the fame of Wilfrid as a glorious saint and confessor; and to stigmatize his opponents as cruel prosecutors, who attacked him "digladiabili odio." The narrative of his persecutions is as incredible as that of his miracles. Who will believe, that Ecgfrid sent an embassy to Theodoric, king of France, begging him to give directions that Wilfrid should be seized and plundered on his landing in France; especially when we consider, that if there was time to send the embassy and to give these directions before his landing, Ecgfrid could with much more ease have intercepted him in England? Who will believe that Theodoric and his general Ebroinus, who must have been entire strangers to Ecgfrid, would espouse his cause so warmly, that the latter promised "aurum immensum"—a vast sum of money, to the king of Friesland, if he would either kill Wilfrid, or banish him? Equally incredible are the stories concerning Wilfrid's sufferings, inflicted by Ecgfrid and Ermenburga after his return from Rome. Besides, several parts of Malmesbury's narrative directly clash with Bede's history. The latter states, that Wilfrid was driven to Friesland by a contrary wind; the former, that he shaped his course for that country, to avoid the snares of his enemies; Bede tells us, that Winfrid, bishop of Mercia, was

Of the other eminent men who arose out of Hilda's monastery we have only a very brief account. Ætla, or Hedda, was made bishop of Dorchester, which was then the episcopal see in Wessex. He was ordained in 676 and died in 705; leaving behind him an excellent character for piety and goodness. Tatfrid, who is described as a man of great learning and talents, was elected bishop of the Huiccii, on the confines of Mercia, but he was cut off by death, before he could be ordained. When Bosel the successor of Tatfrid became infirm, Oftsor, another of Hilda's disciples was made bishop of the Huiccii; and appears to have held that office for several years. He had studied under Hilda in both her monasteries,* and then under Theodore at Canterbury; from whence he also took a journey to Rome, before his ordination.†

deposed by Theodore for disobedience, soon after the synod of Herutford in 673, and that he retired to his monastery called *Ad Barvæ*, where he ended his days in peace (L. IV. c. 5, 6.); Malmesbury says, that he was expelled from his bishopric by king Ethelred after the battle on the Trent in 679, because he favoured his rival Ecgfrid, and that happening to land on the French coast, he was taken for Wilfrid, and was robbed and cruelly abused: from the one we learn, that Osthrid, sister of Ecgfrid, was married to Ethelred, king of Mercia, *before* the battle of the Trent (L. IV. c. 21.); but in the narrative of the other she is said to have been married to him *after* that battle, in order to establish peace between the two kings. It would be easy to specify other fictions, or gross mistakes, which occur in Malmesbury; but the reader must already be sufficiently fatigued. I conclude this tedious note with remarking, that Drake's account of these transactions is confused and contradictory; for although he intimates that Wilfrid, on both his restorations, recovered his former diocese, he states that on his second restoration, John was continued in the see of York, Wilfrid being content with that of Hexham; and while he writes that Bosa died in 687, he tells us that that prelate, after giving way to Wilfrid, on his first return, was restored again on his second exile, which was not till 691! Ebor p. 406, 407.

* Hence it appears that Hartlepool was also a double monastery. † Bed. L. III. c. 7. L. IV. c. 12, 23. L. V. c. 6, 18.

CHAP. V.

ADMINISTRATION AND DEATH OF LADY HILDA.—MONASTERY, OR CELL, AT HACKNESS, FOUNDED.

FROM the contents of the foregoing chapter, the reader must have perceived, that Hilda's monastery was a valuable seminary of learning, where numbers were educated for the work of the ministry; for if no less than six of those who studied there were counted worthy of the episcopal rank, how many more must have been prepared to fill the inferior stations of presbyter and deacon? Indeed, we are expressly informed by Bede, that under the care of this venerable lady, great numbers were trained up to minister at the altar. At that period, the monasteries were the chief seats of learning. Hadrian, the abbot of Canterbury, was an eminent scholar; and his disciples were so well acquainted with the ancient languages, that to many of them the Latin and Greek were as familiar as their mother tongue. The extensive learning of Bede was all acquired in the united monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which was furnished with a valuable library. Some of the monasteries possessed greater advantages for learning

than Streoneshalh; yet none could boast of producing a greater number of eminent ministers: and it is observable, that the ministers who had been educated here were distinguished, not so much by profound erudition, as by the more essential qualifications of piety and zeal, humility and diligence.

The progress of the monks at Streoneshalh, in knowledge and in goodness, must have been eminently promoted by the bright example which lady Hilda set before them, and the excellent regulations which she adopted in the management of the institution. Their time was not wasted in pompous ceremonies, childish mummeries, or the endless repetition of prayers and forms; but was occupied in useful studies, improving exercises, and rational devotion. They were much employed in reading the scriptures; and as this sacred volume had not yet been translated into Saxon, it is probable that most of them learned Latin, that they might be able to read the Vulgate version; and might have access to the numerous books of devotion and science written in that language.* And while they applied themselves closely to study and to religious worship, they did not neglect the more active duties of life, but abounded in works of righteousness. The pious abbess not only laboured to enlighten their

* Yet it appears from Bede's Epistle to Ecgberct, that several of the clergy, as well as of the monks, were ignorant of Latin: and he directs that such should repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in their own tongue. He had, for this purpose, given many ministers a translation of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer.—Ecgberct succeeded Wilfrid II in 732: he was, strictly speaking, the first *archbishop* of York. See the Note on p. 125.

minds, but to improve their hearts, and regulate their conduct. She pressed upon them the exercise of every grace, and the practice of every virtue: above all, she earnestly inculcated that true christian love, which excludes selfishness, and is attended by humility and a contempt of the world. In her monastery, as in the primitive church, there were none rich and none poor; for they had all things in common, and no one challenged any thing as his own.

It does not appear that the decision of the synod of Streoneshalh produced any material change in the constitution of the abbey. Wilfrid introduced the rule of Benedict into the monasteries that were under his immediate inspection; but there is no reason to believe that this innovation was attempted at Streoneshalh.* If we should suppose him capable of offering such violence to the feelings of lady Hilda, we may be sure that, upon his expulsion, her monastery would revert to its original form; especially as one of her own disciples became his successor.

As the monastery contained a considerable number of monks, as well as of nuns, it is probable that some one of the former was appointed by the abbess to superintend his brethren, and thus assist her in the government of the institution; but whether this superintendent was distinguished by the name of *prior*, or by any other title, is a matter of uncertainty. Some

* Charlton indeed tells us (p. 28.) that numbers of Benedictine monks were at that time introduced into Streoneshalh; but this, as well as the assertion that lady Hilda built a hermitage at Eskdaleside, is a mere fancy of his own.

have called Hedda, or Ætla, *abbot* of Streoneshalh;* but no such title appears to have belonged to him. If the superintendence was obtained by seniority in the establishment, it would not devolve on Hedda, but on Oftsor, the only one of Hilda's eminent disciples who is said to have studied under her at Heruteu as well as Streoneshalh.† At any rate, we can scarcely suppose that the superintendent of the monks was dignified with the title of *abbot;* since the whole institution was under the maternal government of the abbess. And we need not wonder that monks, as well as nuns, should submit to her authority; when we learn that her wisdom and prudence in the management of her abbey, and in her general conduct, were so remarkable, that she was consulted as an oracle; and even kings and princes respectfully solicited her advice. She was so much venerated by all who knew her, that she usually received from them the appellation of *mother;* and the fame of her piety and goodness, instead of being confined to the walls of her monastery, spread throughout all the land, and stirred up many to imitate her example.

In this account of lady Hilda's administration and character, I have been guided by the authority of Bede; and I shall now set down the history of her

* Smith's Bede, pp. 110, 202. Notes. Malmesbury says concerning Hedda, "prius fuerat monachus et *abbas:*" (De Gest. Pont. L. II.) but he does not call him abbot of Streoneshalh. It is possible that he might be, for a short period, abbot of some other place, between the time of his leaving Streoneshalh and his elevation to the see of Dorchester. † Charlton states (p. 34.) that Bosa had also lived at Hartlepool. I know not what could lead him to this supposition.

last illness and death nearly in his own words, subjoining a few remarks on the more curious parts of his narrative.

"When she had presided over this monastery for many years," says our historian, "it pleased the gracious Disposer of our health to try her holy soul by a tedious infirmity of the flesh, that, after the example of the apostle, her strength might be made perfect in weakness. For, being seized with fever, she began to be oppressed with a violent heat, and laboured under this illness for six whole years. During all this time, however, she never neglected to praise her Maker, nor to instruct, both in public and private, the flock committed to her care. Taught by her own experience, she admonished them all to serve the Lord with diligence in the time of health, and to bless him with unfeigned resignation in seasons of adversity or affliction."

"In the seventh year of her infirmity, the disorder attacking her vitals, the day of her dissolution arrived. About cock-crowing she received the viaticum of the holy communion, and having sent for the handmaids of Christ then in the monastery, she exhorted them to live at peace with one another and with all mankind; and in the midst of her exhortation she joyfully saw death; or rather, to use the words of the Lord, she passed from death to life."

"In that night," continues our venerable author, "the Lord Almighty was pleased to make known her death by a manifest vision, in another monastery

situated at a distance, which she herself had built that same year, and which is called Hacanos. There was in that monastery a nun called Begu, who, having dedicated her virginity to the Lord, had served him in the monastic life above thirty years. This nun, being then asleep in the dormitory of the sisters, suddenly heard in the air the well-known sound of the bell, by which they were wont to be summoned to prayers, when any of their number departed this life; and, her eyes being open, as she thought, and the roof of the house removed, she beheld a light from above diffused all around; and while she eagerly gazed on that light, she discerned in it the soul of the aforesaid handmaid of God carried towards heaven by attending angels. Roused from her slumbers, she perceived the other sisters sleeping around her, and understood that what she had seen had been revealed to her, either in a dream, or in a vision of the mind: and rising immediately, in great terror and agitation, she ran unto Frigyth, the virgin who then presided as abbess over that monastery,* and told her, with many tears and deep sighs, that the abbess Hilda, the mother of them all, had just now departed from the world, and had ascended in her

* "Quæ tunc monasterio abbatissæ vice præfuit." In the Saxon version, these words are translated, or rather paraphrased, thus: þe ða þær mynstres Abbudisse ⁊ þær þilde geongra— "Who was then abbess of the monastery, and was under Hilda." Geongra usually signifies *younger*, but it also denotes *inferior*, or *less*. Thus in the Saxon Gospels (Mark XV. 40.) we find Iacobes þæs gingran—*James the less*. The corresponding term yldesta—*eldest*, is used in the same manner for *greatest*, as in Luke IX. 46, Þrýlc hyra yldesta wære—*Which of them should be greatest*.

sight with great splendour, under the conduct of angels, to the gates of eternal light, and to the company of the citizens above. On receiving this intelligence, Frigyth awaked all the sisters, and having assembled them in the church, exhorted them to engage in prayers and psalms for the soul of their mother. In this manner they spent the rest of the night; and when some brethren from the monastery where she died arrived at break of day, and announced her death, they told them that they knew it already; and it was found, upon a mutual explanation, that the hour when her translation was shewn them by a vision, corresponded with that of her departure from the world. Thus," says our historian, "it was divinely ordered, by a beautiful coincidence of things, that while the one beheld her departure from this life, the other perceived her entrance into life eternal. The distance between the monasteries is almost 13 miles."

"We are told," adds the same author, "that in the monastery where the said handmaid of God died, her death was also revealed in a vision to one of the holy virgins, who was extremely attached to her, who saw her soul proceeding to heaven with the angels, and, at the very hour that it happened, told it to the handmaids of Christ who were with her, and called them up to pray for her soul, before the rest of the congregation knew of her death. This was ascertained by the congregation in the morning. At the hour above-mentioned, that sister was with some other handmaids of Christ in a retired part of the monastery, where the females who had newly entered remained on

probation, till, after a course of instruction, they were admitted into the fellowship of the congregation."*

From this curious narrative, we find that Streoneshalh abbey, at the death of lady Hilda, was conducted with much regularity; and that it was of great extent, and had given birth to at least one other monastery in the district: and as this is only mentioned incidentally, and would probably not have been named had it not been connected with the account of Hilda's death, it is not unlikely that the parent monastery may have sent forth others of which we have no record.

That *Hacanos* is the same place that is now called *Hackness*, cannot be doubted. The distance from Streoneshalh is quite correct; for we must recollect, that two of the ancient miles were equal to three of the modern English miles; so that about 13 of the one would make 19 of the other, which is nearly the distance between Whitby and Hackness. In like manner the distance from Streoneshalh to York was then computed at 30 miles,† and is now reckoned about 45 in the nearest direction. The name *Hackness* is merely the old name *Hacanos*, *Hacanes*, or *Haccanessa*, in its modern form. It is compounded of two Saxon words,§ and may be literally translated, *Cloven-Points*. And whoever stands

* L. IV. c. 23. † Monasterium tunc fœminarum, nunc monachorum ab Eboraco 30 millibus in boreali parte situm, antiquo vocabulo Streaneshalh, modo Witeby nuncupatur. Gul. Malm. de G. Reg. Angl. L. I. Streoneshaule distat 30. m. p. ab Eboraco. Lel. Coll. II. p. 59. § þaccan—*to hack, cut*, or *cleave*; and noꝛa, neꝛe, or neꝛꝛe—*a nose, point, headland*, or *promontory*. A place called *Hacahec* or *Cloven-stream* is mentioned in Leland's Collectanea, I. p. 34. There is a place near Selkirk in Scotland, at this day, called *Cloven-Fords*.

in the delightful vale of Hackness, and looks around him, will be at no loss to discover the origin of the name: he will see the surrounding hills, now tastefully skirted with wood, divided and as it were cloven asunder, by several openings; and he will observe some of the projecting headlands subdivided by lesser clefts; as if art had assisted nature in multiplying the avenues into this charming spot.*

It was in the last year of lady Hilda's life, that is in 680, that this cell, or monastery was founded; und as her ladyship was then in a very infirm state of health, it is probable that she never had the pleasure of seeing it herself, though she had given directions for its construction. This monastery was chiefly inhabited by nuns. Its extent must have been far inferior to that of the parent monastery, which appears to have had large and numerous buildings, including a house of probation for females who were candidates for admission, and no doubt a corresponding house for male probationers: yet even Hacanos had its church, its

* In Domesday it is called *Hageneese;* and the word *hag* is still synonymous with *hack* in some parts of Britain, especially in Scotland.—Charlton would persuade us, that Hilda called this place *Hactenus* [*Thus-far*], as being near the utmost limits of the church lands; but that the common people, not acquainted with Latin, soon corrupted that word into *Hackness.* (p. 36) This etymology proceeds on the gratuitous assumption that Whitby Strand belonged to our monastery, in the Saxon as well as in the Norman period; and it supposes that in less than 50 years the name was completely lost or corrupted, and continued so for many ages, till he was so fortunate as to recover it!—The place was probably called *Hacanos* before Hilda was born: at any rate, it cannot be believed, that Bede, who was six years old when the monastery was founded there, could give us the name so incorrectly; especially as his information must have been derived, not from the common people, but from his brother-monks, who were in general familiar with Latin terms.

dormitory or sleeping-room, and other offices; and was also furnished with its bell, unless we suppose that the sound of the bell which had been usually heard at Streoneshalh is alluded to in the narrative.

This passage is very remarkable, as it contains the earliest notice of the use of a bell in any of the churches in Britain. Upon the death of a monk or nun, the sound of the bell summoned the survivors to pray for the soul of the deceased. Whether the same signal was then employed to assemble the congregation for divine worship on ordinary occasions, does not appear; but we may observe in this practise the origin of the present custom of tolling the bell when any one dies: it is a relic of the ancient superstition, a summons to pray for the departed spirit.

Though we find from this passage that bells were then used, we must not therefore conclude, that belfries formed any part of the churches of that age. Perhaps the bells were at first suspended from trees, or poles, or projecting beams. When towers were built to contain them, they were detached from the churches; and, like the other buildings of that era, they were formed of wood:* of which materials, the monastery of Hacanos, like that of Streoneshalh, must have been originally constructed; especially as it appears from the above narrative, that the whole had been finished, and supplied with inhabitants, in the course of a few months.

* Dallaway's Anecdotes, p. 19. Lingard's Antiqu. p. 479—482. The towers had sometimes lights placed in them in the evenings, to guide the traveller to the monastery.

Hilda died on the 17th of November;* which day has been therefore consecrated to her memory by the church of Rome. She was then 66 years old; having spent 33 years in the secular habit, and the same number in the monastic. The aged nun Begu, (or *Bega*, as she is called in the Saxon version,) appears to have been Hilda's companion, from the time of her coming to Heruteu, which was somewhat more than 30 years before her death. That nun must not be confounded with Heiu, or Hegu, the former abbess of Heruteu, who went to Tadcaster: had the latter come to spend the evening of her days at Hackness, as some have fancied, the office of abbess would doubtless have been conferred on her, and not on Frigyth.

The story of the visions of Bega and the other favourite nun, who are said to have had a view of Hilda's soul ascending to heaven, is of a piece with a great number of fables related by the monkish historians. Bede presents us with similar tales concerning the translation of Aidan, Cedd, Ceadda, and others.† It is observable, however, that the vision of the nun at Streoneshalh is mentioned only as a report; and I am strongly inclined to believe that the stories of miracles which he has given us are not to

* "Die quinta-decima Kalendarum Decembrium." Some of the later monkish writers, either through ignorance or inadvertence, have rendered this, *the 15th day of December*. Hilda abbatissa Strenes-haulk nata annos 66 obiit 15 Decembr.—Lel Coll. I. p. 411. Charlton, however, is mistaken in asserting, that the 15th of December has been always observed by the church of Rome as the festival of Hilda's translation; for, in the *Anglia Sancta*, the 17th of November is distinctly pointed out as the day allotted to her. † L. IV. c. 3. Vita S. Cudb. c. 4, 34.

be regarded as fabrications of his own, but the inventions of others who imposed on him. He was too credulous in receiving those wonderful tales, for some of which he quotes his authority, such as it was; yet he was too honest to forge them himself. Hence, in the History of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which he wrote from his own knowledge, there is not a single wonder introduced; and surely, if he had been disposed to amuse or to mislead us at the expense of truth, he would not have forgotten to bedeck with miracles the monastery to which he himself belonged.*

We have no account of lady Hilda's funeral; but doubtless her successor Ælfleda, with queen Eanfleda, the mother of that princess, would take care to perform it with all due solemnity. No fables were invented to make the world believe that her remains were incorruptible; though fables of that kind were then current, and, as in the instance of Cuthbert, Etheldrith, and others, were so profitable to the monasteries where such *saints* rested, that their disciples might well write them in letters of gold. Yet Hilda was not deprived of the honours of saintship. In after ages, numbers of churches were dedicated to her honour, and various miracles were invented to

* He tells us indeed (L. V. c. 14.) that *he knew* a smith, belonging to a monastery in Bernicia, who, like many of the brethren of the hammer, was a good workman, but a hard drinker; and who saw on his death-bed a vision of hell, ready to receive him. But our author's narrative implies that he did not visit the dying sinner himself; besides, the supposed vision might be merely the effect of imagination, excited by an awakened conscience. The pious reflections which accompany that story may almost compensate for its insertion.

adorn her memory. The alum-rocks along the coast contain, as will be afterwards noticed more particularly, immense numbers of the petrified shell-fish called *ammonites*, which resemble snakes coiled up, without heads; and it was fabled that these had been real serpents, which once infested the neighbourhood of Streoneshalh, but were reduced to their present state by Hilda's prayers. The homage paid to her by the fowls who attempted to fly over her territory has already been noticed.* Nay, even since our monastery has been in ruins, many have believed, that from

* See p. 147. It would be unpardonable to withhold from the reader the account of these miracles introduced into a celebrated Poem, as a part of the conversation between the nuns of Whitby and those of Lindisfarne.

"They told, how in their convent cell
A Saxon princess once did dwell,
The lovely Edelfled;
And how, of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone,
When holy Hilda prayed;
Themselves, within their holy bound,
Their stony folds had often found.
They told, how seafowls' pinions fail,
As over Whitby's towers they sail,
And, sinking down, with flutterings faint,
They do their homage to the saint."

SCOTT'S MARMION, Canto II.

The bard, by a poetical licence, makes our abbey a *nunnery* at the time of the battle of Flodden. In the Notes respecting Hilda and Cuthbert, there are a few mistakes as to dates; but we cannot expect poets to enter into all the *minutiæ* of History. I must however remonstrate with our bard on the freedom which he has taken with St. Cuthbert. How could he be so impolite as to introduce *nuns*, along with the monks, into the very head-quarters of the saint; when it is well known, that, after the misconduct and disaster of the nuns of Coldingham, his *saintship* absolutely prohibited the entrance of any woman within the precincts of his church; and that Simeon of Durham has recorded the sudden vengeance which overtook some females, who,

a certain spot in the church yard, and at a particular time of the day, when the sun was shining on the ruins, they could see the form of lady Hilda in one of the upper windows.

But, leaving such childish stories, I conclude this account of Hilda with remarking, that, as far as we can judge from what is recorded of her, there does not appear any good reason for refusing her the title of *saint*, as a title belonging to every sincere christian. Her attachment to the doctrine and practice of Aidan and his brethren, and her avowed opposition to Wilfrid, are the only defects which the monkish writers have discovered in her life; and most of my readers will concur with me in thinking, that these pretended blemishes are part of the real ornaments of her character.

through curiosity or impatience of restraint, dared to break through the holy interdict! It is well for the poet, that the era of St. Cuthbert's power has passed away, else he too might have felt the effects of his ghostly wrath.

CHAP. VI.

LIFE OF ÆLFLEDA.—DESTRUCTION OF STREONESHALH BY THE DANES.

HILDA was succeeded in the government of Streoneshalh abbey by her royal pupil Ælfleda, then 26 years of age. Whatever might be wanting to this young abbess, in years and experience, was amply compensated by the assistance of her mother, the queen Eanfleda, who, after the death of Oswy, retired to this monastery to spend the remainder of her days with her favourite child, in the practice of piety and virtue. How long Eanfleda lived, we are not informed; but it is certain, that she was at Streoneshalh five years after the death of lady Hilda; for she was there when, in consequence of Ecgfrid's overthrow in 685, Trumwine bishop of the province of the Picts, fled from Abercorn where he had established a monastery,* and retired with a part of his monks into the abbey of Streoneshalh. Here that worthy

* *Aebbercurnig*—There is no doubt that this place is *Abercorn* on the Firth of Firth. Trumwine's province consisted of that part of the country of the Picts which the kings of Northumbria had conquered, viz. that which lay to the south of the Forth; this province being now recovered by the Picts, the bishopric was abolished. Previous to this, the king of Mercia had recovered Lindisay, which being re-united to the diocese of Mercia, Eadhæd lost his bishopric also, and was made abbot of Ripon. Bed. L. IV. c. 12, 26.

bishop spent the rest of his life, and was for many years a most useful colleague to Ælfleda, assisting her in the government of the institution, and contributing much to her comfort and to the prosperity of the monastery, both by his life and doctrine. At his death he was interred in the church of the monastery, with the honours due to his character and station.

Previous to the arrival of Trumwine, Ælfleda became acquainted with the celebrated Cuthbert, then prior and afterwards bishop of Lindisfarne. The fame of that *saint*, who for several years had spent most of his time as an anchorite in his beloved retirement at Farne island, had spread far and wide, and could not fail to reach the ears of our abbess, who conceived the highest esteem for his character. In the "Life of St. Cuthbert" which Bede has given us both in verse and in prose, the name of Ælfleda is mentioned with honour, as one of his particular friends, the witness and subject of some of his miracles: and though that part of the narrative abounds with fictions, which indeed is the case with the work at large, it contains a variety of particulars concerning Ælfleda and our monastery, too interesting to be omitted.

"That venerable servant of Christ Ælfleda," says our author, "who, amidst the joys of virginity, exercised a maternal care over not a few congregations of the handmaids of Christ, and who added to the honours of a royal extraction the superior dignity of genuine virtue, cherished a strong regard for this

man of God. At that time, as she afterwards told Herefrid, a very reverend presbyter of the church of Lindisfarne, who told it to me, she was seized, and long tormented with a severe illness, which apparently brought her to the gates of death. When medical assistance had been resorted to in vain, her disorder was suddenly checked within, by the divine goodness, and in a short time she was found to be out of danger. She was not, however, restored unto health; for, though she was relieved from inward sickness, and recovered a portion of her strength, she had lost the use of her limbs; she could not stand upright, and when she attempted to walk, it was on all fours. She therefore began to fear that her infirmity would be lasting; for she had long ago despaired of receiving any benefit from physicians. One day, in the midst of anxious and sorrowful thoughts, the happy and tranquil life of the reverend father Cudberct came into her mind, and she presently said: 'I wish that I had something belonging to my friend Cudberct; for I know assuredly, and trust in the Lord, that I should then be soon cured.' Not long after, a person arrived who brought her a linen girdle which he had sent her. Overjoyed at this present, and understanding that her wish had already been revealed from heaven to the holy man, she bound herself with the girdle; in consequence of which, she could stand upright the very next day, and on the third day she was restored to perfect health!"

"A few days after," continues our historian,

"one of the virgins of that monastery began to be afflicted with an intolerable pain in her head; and, the disease increasing daily, she seemed to be at the point of death, when her venerable abbess went in to visit her; and seeing her so heavily afflicted, she brought the girdle of the man of God, and had it bound about her head, by which means a cure was effected in the course of the day. The nun, taking off the girdle, laid it in her chest; but, when the abbess asked for it some days after, it could neither be found in the chest nor any where else. This is understood to have been divinely ordered, that, while by these two miraculous cures the holiness of this father, beloved of God, was apparent to the faithful, no occasion might be afterwards given to unbelievers to doubt of his sanctity: for, had the girdle always remained, the sick would all have had recourse to it, and if any one applied who was undeserving of a cure, the failure might be imputed to the inefficacy of the girdle, rather than to the unworthiness of the patient."

"At another time," that is, as appears from the sequel, in the year 684, "the same most reverend virgin Ælfleda, mother of the virgins of Christ, sent a message to this man of God, conjuring him in the name of the Lord, to meet her and converse with her on some matters of importance. Setting sail with some brethren, she arrived at Coquet island, which lies opposite the mouth of a river of the same name,*

* In the County of Northumberland. The district of *Coquetdale* takes its name from this river.

and is a well-known habitation of monks; for this was the place which she had appointed for the interview. When they had conversed together for some time, and when she had obtained answers to various questions which she came to propose, in the midst of their discourse she suddenly fell at his feet, and conjured him, by the great and awful name of the celestial King and his angels, to tell her how long her brother Ecgfrid would live and reign. 'I know,' she added, 'that by the spirit of prophecy in which you abound, you can tell me this, if you please.' Overawed by this solemn summons, yet not willing to reveal what was demanded, in express terms, he thus replied: 'It is strange that a woman so wise, and so well acquainted with the holy scriptures, should apply the word *long* to the term of human life, for the psalmist says that our years shall pass like a spider's web;* and Solomon reminds us, that, if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all, he ought to remember the dark period of many days, which, when it comes, will shew that the past is vanity.† How much more does his time appear short who has but one year to live, since death is standing at the door!' On hearing these words, she shed a flood of tears at the dismal presage; then wiping her face, she again, with female forwardness, conjured him by the majesty of the supreme Deity, to tell her who should be Ecgfrid's successor, since he had neither sons nor brothers. After a short

* He seems to quote Psalm XC. 9; a verse which may admit of a different translation from that of our English Bibles. † Eccles. XI. 8. The translation varies a little from that of our Version.

pause, he answered, 'Say not that he has neither; for he will have a successor, whom you can love as Ecgfrid himself, with the affection of a sister.' 'Tell me,' says she, 'I pray you, where he is.' 'You see,' said he, 'this great and spacious sea which abounds with islands; from some one of these, God can easily provide himself a person to fill the English throne.' She then understood that he spoke of Aldfrid, who was said to be her father's son, and who, through his love of learning, was then abroad in the Scotish isles."

"The abbess, knowing that her brother Ecgfrid intended to make Cuthbert a bishop, and desirous to learn if the design could be carried into effect, proceeded thus to sound him on the subject: 'How strangely diversified are the views of mortals! Some rejoice in riches acquired, others are lovers of riches who are always in want; but you reject worldly glory when it is offered you, and though you could attain the episcopal rank, to which there is nothing superior among men, you prefer your solitary cell to this exalted station.' To this he replied: 'I know that I am unworthy of so high a station, yet I can by no means evade the appointment of the supreme Ruler; and if he has resolved to lay this burden upon me, I believe that he will also soon relieve me, and perhaps at the expiration of two years, he may permit me to withdraw to my wonted retirement. But I charge you, in the name of our Lord and Saviour, to tell no one what you have now heard from me, till after my death.'—When he had answered her many other

questions, and imparted to her several useful instructions, he returned to his own island and monastery."

Our historian proceeds to relate, how Cuthbert was soon after constrained to accept the bishopric of Lindisfarne; and how all his prophecies were fulfilled in their order. "Ecgfrid, after the lapse of a year is slain by the sword of the Picts, and the kingdom is given to Aldfrid, his bastard brother, who had been long engaged in the acquisition of learning in the country of the Scots, suffering a spontaneous exile for the love of wisdom."*

* Vita S. Cudbereti, c. 23, 24. This passage strongly corroborates the arguments produced in a former part of the work, (p. 30, 31, &c) to prove that Aldfrid was a different person from Alchfrid. William of Malmesbury (De G. R. Ang. L. I.) with his usual incorrectness, confounds these two princes; and it is by following his authority, instead of attending to Bede, that later historians have fallen into the same mistake. He tells us that Oswy had two sons, Egfrid the younger who was legitimate, and Alfrid the elder who was a bastard; that the latter, on the death of his father, was expelled the kingdom by a faction of the nobles, and was driven into Ireland, &c. But it is obvious from this passage, that Aldfrid's retirement was voluntary, and that he was so far from being expelled by the nobles, that he had been brought up in obscurity, and had not been acknowledged at court as the son of Oswy; insomuch that Ælfleda did not then know him to be her brother, except by vague report. This is what might naturally be expected; for, being an illegitimate child, Oswy would not introduce him to the notice of queen Eanfleda and her children: and it is a plain proof that he was a different person from Alchfrid, who lived at court, and was well known to all the royal family. The metrical version of the Life of Cuthbert (c. 21.) puts the matter beyond all doubt; for there our venerable author describes Aldfrid as a *young* man—"a new Josiah, young in years, but ripe in grace and understanding:"

> "Utque satisfieret vatis per singula dictis,
> Sol magnum explevit solitis sub mensibus annum
> Pictorum infesto dum concidit Ecgfridus ense,
> Et nothus in regni frater successit honorem,
> Scottorum qui tum versatus in incola terris,
> Cœlestem intento spirabat corde sophiam.

Besides this conference at Coquet isle, Bede has recorded another interview which Ælfleda had with Cuthbert in her own territory. He tells us, that the man of God, aware of his approaching dissolution, resolved before withdrawing to his favourite retreat, where he intended to prepare for death, to make a circuit throughout the churches and monasteries in his diocese and on its borders, that he might strengthen and establish them by suitable exhortations. "While he was thus employed," says our author, "he received an invitation from that most noble and most holy virgin of Christ, the abbess Ælfleda, and he came into the possession of her monastery, to see her and converse with her, and to dedicate a church; for that possession abounded with congregations of the servants of Christ. On that occasion, while they were sitting at table, at the hour of refreshment, Cuthbert

> Nam patriæ fines et dulcia liquerat arva,*
> Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul.
> Hujus nunc Tyrio venerabile pignus in ostro,
> Jure datas patrio sceptri jam tractat habenas:
> *Utque novus Josia fideque animoque magis quam*
> *Annis maturus*, nostrum regit inclitus orbem."

This last couplet cannot apply to Alchfrid, the eldest son of Oswy. Had that prince been alive at Ecgfrid's death, he must have been between fifty and sixty years old; for he was married before the year 653. Aldfrid appears to have been the youngest of all the children of Oswy; younger even than Elfwine, who was slain in 679 at the age of eighteen.—It is worthy of remark, that Matthew of Westminster has avoided the error of Malmesbury; for in his list of Northumbrian kings (1. p. 340.); he clearly distinguishes Oswy's eldest son from his youngest, calling the former *Aelfridus*, and the latter *Ealfridus*; as appears from the following extract: "Oswius, *Aelfridus*, Egfridus, *Ealfridus*, Osredus."

* *A line borrowed from the first Eclogue of Virgil.*

on a sudden turned his attention from carnal provisions to spiritual objects. Presently his limbs appeared feeble, as if from excess of duty, his face grew pale, his eyes that were usually serene bespoke astonishment, and the knife which he was holding dropped on the table. This being observed by his presbyter who was standing by and ministering to him, he turned to the abbess, and said to her in a whisper; 'Ask the bishop what he saw just now; for I know that it is not without reason that his trembling hand let fall the knife, and that his countenance is changed: he has seen something spiritual which the rest of us cannot perceive.' She took the hint, and immediately said? 'I pray you, my lord bishop, tell what you now saw; for it was not for nothing that your right hand was so enfeebled as to drop the knife which it held.' He attempted to make her believe that he had seen nothing, replying with an appearance of good humour, 'Can I eat all day? It is surely time for me to stop.' But when she earnestly conjured and besought him to make known the vision, he answered; 'I beheld the soul of some saint conveyed by the hands of angels to the joys of the heavenly kingdom.' She inquired again; 'From whence was that soul taken up?' 'From your monastery,' he replied. She proceeded to ask the name. 'You will tell me his name to-morrow,' said he, 'when I am performing divine service.'* On hearing this, she immediately sent to

* "Missas celebranti"—The word *missæ* was then applied to the public prayers and public services of the church in general, and

her larger monastery, to see who had recently been translated out of the body. The messenger found all in that place safe and sound; but when he began next morning to return to the lady abbess, he met those who were bringing on a cart the body of the deceased brother for burial; and, inquiring who it was, he learned that it was one of the shepherds, a man of good conduct, who climbing a tree incautiously had fallen to the ground, and, his body being sore bruised, had breathed out his spirit, at the very hour when the man of God beheld it conveyed to heaven. The messenger returning told this to the abbess, who hastened in to the bishop, then employed in dedicating the church, and said to him, through the effect of female surprise, as if she had been telling him something new; 'I pray you, my lord bishop, remember in the prayers my *Hadwald*, (for this was the man's name) who died yesterday by falling from a tree.' Then it was clear to all, that the spirit of prophecy, in a variety of gifts, dwelt in the breast of that holy man; who could both see the secret translation of a soul at the moment, and foresee what would afterwards be told him of it by others."*

Whatever opinion we may form of Cuthbert's visions and prophecies here recorded, there is no reason to doubt the facts connected with them; for

did not correspond with the modern term *mass*. Yet the metrical version (c. 31.) seems to explain it here of the communion service:

..... "Cras mystica, dixit, ad altar
Obtulero cum sacra, &c."

* Vita S. Cudbercti, c. 34.

tales which are fabricated to pass for truth are usually combined with real occurrences, in order to render them the more plausible. The narrative of the conference at Coquet isle is particularly worthy of our notice, as containing an account of the first voyage from Whitby recorded in history. The vessel in which Ælfleda performed her voyage to Coquet isle, and back to Streoneshalh, would no doubt be small, like other British ships of that age; and it was probably navigated by the brethren who attended her. Perhaps it belonged to the monastery, and might be most frequently used in fishing excursions; for the monks of that era were often employed on the waters.* The voyage must have been performed in the beginning of summer, in the year 684; as it was a year before the death of Ecgfrid, who perished on the 20th of May, 685.

The visit which Cuthbert paid to Ælfleda in her own territory occurred more than two years after; for he died on the 20th of March, 687, after spending about three months in close retirement;† and therefore his last visitation of the churches, which immediately preceded his retirement, must have taken place in the autumn of 686. That this was the season when Cuthbert visited our district, may be inferred from the metrical version of his life, which intimates that Hadwald, when he met with the fatal accident, was climbing trees to procure acorns for the hogs.§

* Ibid c. 3, 11, 36. † Ibid. c. 37. Hist. Eccl. L. IV. c. 29.

§ Frondiferi quendam nemoris dum scanderet alta,
Cæderet ut pecori arboreo de pabula cono,
Deciduum membris animam posuisse solutis.—c. 31.

At that period our abbey was in a very flourishing condition: its territory was extensive, and contained not a few congregations of monks and nuns.* Besides the monastery at Hackness, other cells were erected in various parts of the district; and we may hope that, through the labours of the brethren, every town and every village enjoyed the blessings of the gospel. Where the cells which branched out from Streoneshalh were situated, it is impossible to ascertain; but from circumstances which will be afterwards noticed,† we may conjecture that, on the south-east side of the parent monastery, there was a cell in Harewood Dale, and another on the Esk above Gromont Bridge; and that, on the north-west, there was one at Hutton-Mulgrave, one at Hinderwell, formerly called Hildrewell, and perhaps one at Middleburgh near the mouth of the Tees, where there was, at an early period after the conquest, a church dedicated to the abbess Hilda.

If I may hazard a conjecture on the subject, I should suppose that Middleburgh was the place where Cuthbert dedicated a church for Ælfleda; or at least, that it was some place on the Cleveland side of Streoneshalh, not far from the borders of the bishop's own diocese. It is obvious that he did not go forward to Ælfleda's principal monastery, and that the new church which he consecrated was a considerable way off from it; as the messenger dispatched thither could not return the same day. We may be certain that

* Non pœnæ famulorum Christi examine pollebat. † See Book IV. Chap. II.

the place which Cuthbert visited was not Hackness; for that was quite out of his way, and the church there being only seven years old could not require to be rebuilt: besides, our author intimates, that this was an establishment entirely new, occasioned by the great increase of the servants of Christ in that district. As the messenger met the corpse of Hadwald, on his return from Streoneshalh, it would seem that the place where that shepherd came to his untimely end, lay in the same direction with the new church; but whether it was in the woods near Hinderwell, some of which still remain, or in some spot at a greater distance, cannot be determined.

It is worthy of remark, that this narrative makes no mention of Trumwine; though that bishop retired into the monastery of Streoneshalh about a year before the visit of Cuthbert. Whatever assistance Ælfleda might derive from Trumwine, or from her mother, in the government of the monastery, the whole establishment was conducted in her own name, and was subject to her authority. Indeed, her reputation for piety and prudence, in which she resembled her illustrious predecessor, would serve to command the respect and submission of all who belonged to the institution; while her noble birth shed an additional lustre on her character, and tended to widen the sphere of her influence. A princess, who was the daughter of an illustrious monarch, the grand-daughter of one still more famous, the sister of three kings and of two queens, and who was at the same time distin-

guished by her personal virtues, could not fail to be respected, both in her own monastery, and throughout the kingdom of Northumbria. Her rank and influence not only increased the number of her disciples and dependents, but enlarged the boundaries of her territory and added much to the wealth of her abbey, which appears to have been by far the richest and most extensive then in Northumbria.*

If we can credit William of Malmesbury, the influence of Ælfleda in the church of Northumbria was very great; for he states, that when archbishop Theodore, in the year before his death, repented of his behaviour toward Wilfrid, and used every effort to get him re-instated in his bishopric, he wrote letters and sent messengers for this purpose to Aldfrid, king of Northumberland, and to his sister Ælfleda, abbess of Streoneshalh, exhorting them to receive the bishop with christian love. Through the effect of these letters, according to that author, Wilfrid recovered his episcopal dignity.†

The same author relates, that our abbess took a most active part in procuring Wilfrid's final restoration to the see of Hexham, in the year 705, when

* Quorum præcipuum monasterium, &c.——ab insignis religionis fœmina Hilda cœptum, Edelfleda ejusdem regis filia in regimine succedens magnis fiscalium opum molibus auxit. Gul. Malm. de. G. R. A. Lib. I. Ælfleda is sometimes called *Ethelfleda* or *Edelfleda*. It would seem that Æl, in Saxon names, is sometimes a contraction for Æðel—*noble*. † De G. Pont. L. III. In this passage, as in many others, the author is obviously incorrect; for the restoration of Wilfrid took place in the second year of Aldfrid, near the beginning of 687, two years before the time which he specifies; the year 689 being that which preceded the death of Theodore. Bed. L. V. c. 8, 19.

Osred, her nephew, filled the Northumbrian throne. In the reign of Aldfrid, that turbulent prelate had been stripped of his honours a second time, about the year 691; on which occasion he found an asylum in Mercia, under the patronage of king Ethelred. After a considerable interval, fresh troubles arose, and Wilfrid again appealed to the see of Rome. Thither he repaired, at the age of seventy, to recover his lost preferments; and, as might be expected, the reception which he met with at the court of pope John V. was of the most flattering kind. He was honourably acquitted of every charge, his accusers who were confronted with him, were pronounced calumniators, and he was sent home with letters apostolical to archbishop Berctwald, successor of Theodore, and to the kings Ethelred and Aldfrid, enjoining them to reinstate him in his honours. The archbishop and the king of Mercia were ready to comply with the papal mandate; but Aldfrid, like his predecessor, treated the authority of the *apostolical* see with contempt, and Wilfrid was compelled to linger in Mercia. Upon the death of Aldfrid, which occurred not long after, the aged prelate made another push to regain his dignities; but Eadulf, the usurper, expelled him the kingdom. At length, however, when the young prince Osred was placed on his father's throne, under the guardianship of the brave Berctfrid, a council was held near the river Nidd, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where Wilfrid's claims were discussed, and matters were finally accommodated between him

and his adversaries. The other bishops, indeed, began to oppose the pretensions of Wilfrid, as on former occasions; but "the most blessed virgin Ælfleda, the sister of Aldfrid, and abbess of Streoneshalh, put an end to the business by addressing the council in these words: 'Without any preamble, I produce the last will of my brother, to which I was a witness; certifying, that, if he should recover, he would perform the orders of the apostolic see; but, if death prevented him from fulfilling them himself, he left the performance of them to his heir.' Berctfrid seconded the words of the virgin;" and the rest of the council assenting to the proposal for receiving Wilfrid, he was again put in possession of the see of Hexham and the monastery of Ripon. He enjoyed his preferments only four years longer, when he was finally removed from them by the hand of death.* His devotedness to the see of Rome procured him the title of *saint;* but he was more distinguished by his activity and talents, than by those amiable qualities which characterise the true disciples of Jesus.

From the foregoing narrative it appears, that our worthy abbess was wont to attend councils, and that in those assemblies her opinion was received with profound respect. She also frequented the court of her brother Aldfrid, and went over to Driffield to visit

* Gul. Malmes. de G. Pont. L. III. Bed. L. V. c. 19. These transactions are recorded more fully in the Life of Wilfrid ascribed to Heddius; where our abbess, who is called *beatissima* and *sapientissima*, ("most blessed" and "most wise") is represented as taking a very active part, along with the archbishop, in reconciling the bishops to Wilfrid. Vide Wilk. Concil. I. p. 67, 68.

him in his last illness. As his sickness commenced not long after his refusal to re-instate Wilfrid, he perhaps imputed it to the displeasure of Heaven; in which light it is viewed by the monkish historians; and this may account for the sudden change in his sentiments. To this change his conversation with his sister may have contributed, for Ælfleda seems to have conceived an esteem for the aged bishop; who, notwithstanding his eagerness for power and preferment, was on various accounts entitled to respect.

The abbess survived her brother eight years; for as she was a year old at the overthrow of Penda in 655, and lived 59 years, her death must have occurred in 713. We have no account of the close of her life; but are informed that she was interred in St. Peter's church at Streoneshalh; beside the remains of her royal parents and her venerable predecessor.*

No material change appears to have taken place in the constitution of our abbey under Ælfleda's government; but it is not unlikely that, after her death, it began to be governed by abbots; as it might be difficult to find in the monastery a female of sufficient talents and respectability for conducting an establishment of such extent. Besides, it would seem from some circumstances already mentioned, that the number of the monks had increased more rapidly than that of the nuns; and, if this was the case, a change in the government of the institution was the more requisite. Accordingly, it is said, that an abbot,

* Bed. L. III. c. 24.

called Titus, was at the head of the monastery at the time when it was destroyed by the Danes, in the year 867. On this statement, however, no reliance can be placed; and the idea which I have now advanced is merely proposed as a conjecture. The history of our abbey, from the death of Ælfleda to the Danish irruption, is irrecoverably lost,* a remark which will apply to the monastery of Lestingham and to every other religious house in the district: and even the accounts of the ruin of those establishments, are too vague, imperfect, and contradictory, to be of any value.

Matthew of Westminster gives the most circumstantial relation of the destruction of Streoneshalh and the other monasteries on the coast, which I have met with; but his narrative is not consistent with the Saxon Annals, nor even with itself; for after stating, that the Danes in 867 laid waste the whole province of Northumbria as far as the mouth of the Tyne, he brings a fresh armada under Inguar and Hubba three years after, to lay waste the same district. He tells us, that, having landed in Scotland, they plundered and burnt the nunnery of Coldingham, consuming its virtuous inhabitants† in the flames; that from,

* Charlton states, that, "About the year 756, Edbert [Eadbert] king of Northumberland resigned his crown to his son Osulph, and retired into the monastery of Streanshalh where he spent the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion, and where at his death he was buried, as we are informed by William of Malmesbury, at page 20 of his history." This is a strange mistake; for Malmesbury agrees with other historians in stating that Eadbert and his brother Egbert were buried at York in one porch, and there can be no doubt that York was the place of Eadbert's retirement. † The nuns, according to this author, cut off their noses and upper lips, in order to avoid the impure embraces of the pagan invaders. This story is with

thence they sailed southward along the coast, and destroyed in a similar way the monasteries of Lindisfarne, Tynemouth, Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Streoneshalh; while they also spread themselves over the country, murdering all the inhabitants, and consuming every thing in their way. According to that author, Streoneshalh was then a nunnery as at its first erection; and he also states, that the monastery of Tynemouth had been formed by a colony of nuns from Streoneshalh, and that these holy virgins, like the inhabitants of the other monasteries, were slain by the Danes.*

The Life of St. Hilda, which Leland met with at Whitby, gives a different account of this memorable disaster; for it asserts, that, at the time when Streoneshalh was destroyed, "Titus the abbot, escaped to Glastonbury, with the relics of St. Hilda."† The book which he quotes appears to have been lost; but it was probably, like other lives of saints, adorned with fables, and cannot be depended on as an authentic voucher. This passage about Titus is perhaps the same story, though a little altered, which occurs in the History of the church of Glastonbury, published

good reason believed to be a fable. That of king Edmund's martyrdom, in which he follows William of Malmesbury, is far more marvellous. The Danes beheaded that East-Anglian prince, and threw his head into a thicket. After their departure, some good people searched for the head, and when they were at a loss to find it, the head itself called out to them from among the bushes, "Here, here, here!" They hastened to the spot, and, to their great surprise, found the head in possession of a huge wolf, who was kindly bearing it in his arms. The animal presented the head to them, and while they conveyed it with the body to the grave, he followed after as one of the mourners, and having staid till the funeral was over, he quietly returned to his native woods!!! Matth. West. p. 313, 320.

* Ibid. p. 311, 314, 428. † Lel. Coll. III. p. 39.

in the beginning of Dugdale's Monasticon; where we read of "Tictan the abbot, who with twelve of his monks, retired, at the time of the Danish persecution, from Northumbria to Glastonbury, with many relics; and who was afterwards abbot of that church." As the Life of St. Hilda was probably written by the monks of Whitby, long after that History of Glastonbury was manufactured, and as the latter makes no mention of the monastery from which Tictan fled, it was an easy matter to appropriate him to Streoneshalh, and load him with Hilda's relics, at the same time changing his name to *Titus*. If the story is founded in fact, it is more probable that Ripon, or some other monastery in the west of Northumbria, was the place from which Tictan fled; for, if any part of the monks of Streoneshalh escaped the general carnage, it is very unlikely that they would burden themselves with relics. Besides, in that very History, it is stated, that Glastonbury was indebted for the relics of Hilda, not to the care of Tictan, but to the piety of king Edmund.* On this point, William of Malmesbury is at variance with himself; for, after telling us more than once that the relics of Hilda were conveyed to Glastonbury at the time of the Danish irruption,† he informs us in another place,§ that they were sent thither by king Edmund who discovered and dug them up during his northern expedition, which occurred A. D. 944. Amidst these contradictory accounts, we may almost venture to say, that the relics of Hilda

* Dugd. Monastic. I. p. 4. † De G. R. Angl. L. I. § De G. Pont. L. II.

remained undisturbed; and that if any portion of them is still undissolved, it is more likely to be found at Whitby than at Glastonbury. Edmund spent but a short time in his expedition into Northumberland and Cumberland, which was only about a year before his death; and he was then too much employed in subduing the living, to take time to rake up the ashes of the dead.

The same author relates, that the bones of other saints, besides those of Hilda, were carried off from Streoneshalh.* He also mentions, in another passage,† the discovery of the remains of bishop Trumwine, king Oswy, and the abbess Ælfleda; with those of Cedmon the poet, to whose relics he ascribes a number of miracles. This discovery is said to have taken place about the time when our monastery was restored, a few years before William wrote his History; and as he does not say, that the remains of the illustrious persons now named were removed to another quarter, but merely that they were brought forth to honour, we may suppose that they remained to grace the new monastery.—With regard to all these pretended discoveries, however, it is necessary to remark, that the grossest impositions were practised by the relic-mongers of that age;§ and that, as no mention is made of

* De G. R Angl. L. I. † De G. Pont. L. III. § The History of Glastonbury, in the Monasticon, (p. 6, 6.) contains a catalogue of the relics in that ancient church, founded forsooth by Joseph of Arimathea! The following choice sample, selected from a very long list of those *precious* commodities, will give the reader some idea of their *value:* "Part of the sepulchre of Rachel—of Aaron's rod that budded—of the manna of the children of Israel—of the relics of Daniel the prophet, and of the three children. Six gilt stones from

any inscriptions, or other marks by which the graves of those *saints* were pointed out, we may fairly question, whether their bones, when dug up out of the ruins of Streoneshalh after a lapse of ages, could be distinguished from the bones of the *sinners* who were buried beside them.

Whatever may have been the fate of Hilda's relics, neither Titus, nor any other monk, has preserved any remains of the history of our abbey during the period that immediately preceded its destruction;

the pavement of the temple of the Lord, and part of the door of the temple. Part of the cloth in which our Lord was wrapped, and two portions of the manger in which he lay. Part of one of the water-pots in which Christ turned water into wine. Part of the stones which the devil desired him to turn into bread. Some of the fragments of the five barley loaves with which our Lord fed five thousand men. Part of our Lord's hair. Part of his coat that was without seam. Part of the pillar to which our Lord was bound when he was scourged—of the scourge with which he was smitten—of the robe which Herod put on him—and of the sponge from which he drank. Many portions of the wood of our Lord's cross—One thorn from his crown—Part of the blessed Mary's milk; a crystal cross which she gave to king Arthur; and part of her hair. The middle bone of a finger of John Baptist; a small bone from his head; and part of his clothes. Two of St. Peter's teeth; part of his staff. A tooth of St. Paul; part of his beard; and some of his blood. A thigh bone of St. Stephen, with some small bones;—some of his blood; ashes from his body; part of his staff; and a fragment of one of the stones with which he was stoned to death. Part of the flesh and blood of St. Lawrence, and a bit of the gridiron on which he was roasted. Two bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury [Thomas à Becket]: part of his skin and hair—his flesh and blood—and of a cloth dipped in his blood and brains!!!"—Among the relics of holy virgins, there is, "A bone of St. Etheldred." Here the relic-mongers have made a gross mistake, for Etheldred was one of the *incorruptible* saints, whose bones of course could not be divided. I must not omit the following curious article near the close of the catalogue: "Part of the relics of St. *Wisdom*, and of her daughters, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*!" Alas! it is too true, that in those dark ages *Wisdom* had perished; and the three lovely sisters, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity* seemed to be extinct: but, I fear, that little or nothing of their precious relics could then be found at Glastonbury.

and the events of more than 150 years have thus been consigned to oblivion. Yet, while curiosity may wish that this chasm had been filled up, the loss is perhaps of as little real importance, as that of lady Hilda's bones. From the facts formerly stated,* we are warranted to infer, that while our abbey grew in riches and extent, it declined in piety. Churches of wood gave place to churches of stone; but, at the same time, the simplicity and solid piety of former times were exchanged for luxury and licentiousness. While the kingdom of Northumbria presented a horrid spectacle of feuds, conspiracies, massacres, and other abominable crimes, the progress of immorality in the church became no less alarming; and both were ripe for those awful judgments, which a righteous Providence permitted to overwhelm them.

Streoneshalh lay desolate for 207 years. At the close of that long period our monastery was revived, under a new name, and in a different form; as will be related in the following chapter.

* See pages 172, 173, 174.

CHAP. VII.

RESTORATION OF OUR MONASTERY, UNDER THE MODERN NAME *WHITBY*.—REINFRID THE PRIOR—STEPHEN—SERLO—HACKNESS AND LESTINGHAM RESTORED.

THE history of our abbey naturally divides itself into two periods;—the Saxon, and the Norman or English period. Between these periods there was an interval of above 200 years; yet, as the monastery of Whitby, erected after the conquest, was founded on the site of lady Hilda's monastery, it may be regarded as a revival of that ancient establishment; and therefore, the history of the one is here given as a continuation of the history of the other. Perhaps, however, it would be more correct, to view them as two distinct institutions; for there are many particulars in which they were essentially different. Hilda's monastery was of the order of Iona, and though it underwent various modifications, it never, as far as can be ascertained, exchanged its original form for the discipline of any other order; but the monastery whose history we are now to record was wholly Benedictine. The Saxon institution was a double monastery, comprehending both monks and nuns, and was at first, if not throughout the whole of its duration, governed by an abbess;

the Norman establishment admitted monks only, and was ruled by a prior, and afterwards by an abbot. The territory of Streoneshalh abbey, though it is known to have been extensive, cannot be distinctly ascertained; but the possessions of the monastery of Whitby are well defined, and we have satisfactory records of the privileges which it enjoyed.

Though our district was 200 years without monasteries, we must not suppose that during the whole of that period it was destitute of the blessings of christianity. The Danish invaders, among whom the lands were parcelled out, were indeed pagans; but, through the influence of the surviving natives, and of the christians who lived in other parts of the island, the gospel soon found its way among those barbarians. Guthred, who was raised to the throne of Deira in 882, was a christian prince, and a most liberal contributor to the patrimony of St. Cuthbert;* and though some of his successors were pagans, it is probable that, even before Northumbria was finally incorporated with the rest of England in the reign of Edred, the greater part of the Danish settlers had become christians in profession. Had the monkish writers been as careful to relate the progress of the gospel, as to record the benefactions made to the church, we might have known at what time, and by what means, the christian religion was again introduced into this quarter. All that we know with certainty on the subject, is, that there were sixteen

* Sim. Dun. c. 29. Mat. Westm. I. p. 332, 333. Hoveden Annal. P. I.

churches in our district when Domesday was compiled.* Several of them, however, were without pastors; which might be owing to the recent devastations which the country had suffered. It is observable too, that almost all of them were near the extreme limits of the district: there was no church at Streoneshalh, nor in the vale of the Esk; the nearest churches were those of Seaton and Easington on the one hand, and those at Hackness on the other.†

From this circumstance we may venture to infer, that Streoneshalh, with its immediate vicinity, was more completely ruined by the Danish irruption than most other parts of the district; or, at least, that it was longer in reviving: and this idea is confirmed by the remarkable fact, that while Hackness retained its original name, that of Streoneshalh was completely lost. The town that was built on the spot was denominated *Hwitebi, Whitbi*, or *Whitby;* which signifies *White village.*§ The occasion of this name it is not

* See p. 90. † In the General History (p. 92), I have hazarded a conjecture that of the three churches then belonging to the manor of Hackness, the two that were without priests might be Whitby and Lestingham; but on re-examining the subject I am inclined to think, that all the three might be situated at Hackness. It appears from the records of Whitby abbey, that there were then at least two churches at Hackness, the church of St. Peter and that of St. Mary: and there might be a third in some part of that manor. As to Whitby and Lestingham, though there were habitations for monks at both, there was not as yet any regular church, or place of public worship constructed at either. § From the Saxon ϸpiz—*white*, and bi or bye —*a village*. It is scarcely necessary to notice Charlton's etymology of the name. The termination *by* has no connection with the word *bay;* but is clearly of Saxon or Danish origin. The word *by* still signifies *village* in the Swedish language; and a similar word is used in the Icelandic; as in the following instance: "Brendo bæi ok kirkior" —"They burned *villages* and churches."—Haco's Expedition, p. 16.

difficult to discover. The houses of that period were generally built of wood, which through the action of the atmosphere soon acquires a dark hue, while houses of stone retain in a great measure their original whiteness. Now, as the village of Whitby would be built out of the ruins of the ancient Streoneshalh, most, if not all, of the houses must have been constructed of stone;* and as the situation is elevated, for the town then stood upon the high ground beside the abbey, its whiteness must have been very conspicuous, and might very naturally give rise to its new name.†

Had the colour of our *bay* given a name to the place it should have been called *Blackbay*, from the dark colour of the alum rock, rather than *Whitebay*, from any peculiar whiteness in the waves. Here I may take occasion to present the reader with another conjecture on the etymology of the name Streoneshalh, about which I am not fully satisfied. Streone sometimes signifies *stratum*, from the verb ſtreonan—*sternere*. Now *stratum (street)* is a term used by our forefathers to express any Roman road. If therefore we can suppose that *Sinus fari*, in Bede, is a mistake for *Sinus strati*, the name Streoneshalh might be rendered STREET BAY: and as the Roman road, or *stratum*, which terminates in our bay, would be much more conspicuous in Hilda's time than it is at present, we may very well suppose it to have given a name to the place.—It may be proper to notice here, that the observation in the Note on page 143 is expressed too generally: R. Hoveden quotes the translation *sinus fari*.

* Though the monastery of Streoneshalh was originally constructed of wood, there can be no doubt that the church and other principal buildings would be rebuilt with stone; when the wealth of the institution increased so greatly under Ælfleda. It is probable that the church was dedicated to St. Peter at the time when it was rebuilt, as may be inferred from the parallel instance of Lestingham. Bed. L. III. c. 23. † The ancient name of Kirkudbright, *Candida Casa*, which in the Saxon is þpit-ærne—*White House* or *White Hall*, is derived by Bede from the very same circumstance. The church there was so called, because it was built of *stone*, while all the houses in that part were built of other materials. "Vulgo vocatur *Ad Candidam Casam*, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittanibus more fecerit." Bed. L. III. c. 4. The word ærne seems properly to mean a *Hall:* thus we find dom-ærne—*the judgment-hall*, or *prætorium*. Evang. Saxon. Mat. xxvii. v. 27.

That I may not need to recur to the same topic, it may be proper here to notice, that the name *Prestebi*, or *Priest's village*, has also been applied to the town which arose out of the ruins of Streoneshalh. A village of that name is mentioned in Domesday as one of the dependencies of the manor of Whitby; but it is evidently distinct from Whitby itself.* Perhaps it was the nearest village to Whitby, and may have been built on some place that had been an appendage to the monastery; for in the charter of William Rufus, the church of the monastery is called "the church of St. Peter at Presteby and at Whiteby."†

After these introductory remarks, I proceed to give an account of the revival of our monastery in the reign of William the conqueror.

In the year 1074, a presbyter named Aldwin, prior of the monastery of Winchelcumb in Mercia, having learned from the history of England, that the province of Northumbria once abounded with monasteries, all of which were now desolate; conceived an ardent desire to travel into that province, in order to revive the monastic life. For this purpose, he resigned his office, and proceeding to Evesham abbey, which was also in Mercia, he prevailed on Elfwine, a deacon, and Reinfrid, a monk of good reputation but of no learning, to enter into his views. The three pilgrims set out on foot, with a little ass to carry their books and priestly garments. On their arrival at York, they obtained from the sheriff, Hugh the son

* Bawdwen's Domesday, p. 64. † Charlton's Hist. p. 58.

of Baldric, a guide to Munecaceastre, or Monktown, which was on the north bank of the Tyne.* Here they began to take up their abode; but, as the place did not answer their expectations, and as Walcher, bishop of Durham, invited them to reside under his jurisdiction, they resolved to accept his invitation; and, after being hospitably entertained by the bishop, they settled under his patronage at the ancient monastery of Jarrow. Having built themselves huts among the ruins, and erected a temporary place of worship, they led a life of poverty, supported only by the alms of the pious. Their high reputation for sanctity soon brought an accession to their numbers; and Walcher, overjoyed at their increase, gave them some lands for their support. But Aldwin's views were not confined to the restoration of one monastery, and perceiving the flourishing state of Jarrow, he left it to the charge of Elfwine, and set out in quest of another station; while Reinfrid, on the same principle, travelled southward to revive the ancient monastery of St. Hilda.†

According to a memorial in the records of Whitby abbey, Reinfrid had formerly been a soldier in the Conqueror's army, and being with him in his northern expedition, had turned aside to visit the ancient Streoneshalc,§ when his heart was greatly affected

* Now called Newcastle. Its name Munecaceaſtre is obviously Saxon; from Munuc—*a monk*, and Ceaſtre—*a city*, or *town*: and this name appears to have been the chief reason why our three monks wished to be conducted thither. Hugh, the son of Baldric, was the proprietor of Danby and Lealholm. See Bawdwen's Domesday, p. 199.

† R. Hoveden Annal. P. I. Sim. Dunelm. c. 56, 57 Lel. Coll. I. 382.

§ Fol. 139. Charlton says, that he went to pay a visit to William de

at beholding its ruins; and under this impression he had entered the monastery of Evesham, that he might be qualified to take a part in its restoration. This statement does not seem to correspond with the account of Hoveden and Simeon of Durham, whose authority I have followed. Yet we may believe, that, according to the memorial, Reinfrid was favourably received by William de Percy, an eminent Norman baron, who then held the manor of Whitby and Sneaton under Hugh, earl of Chester; and who was himself the proprietor of large estates in other parts of Yorkshire.* This illustrious baron, from whom the noble family of Percy is descended, gave to Reinfrid and his companions the site of the ancient monastery, with two carucates of land in Presteby for their support. The ruins of the abbey still bore the marks of its former greatness; for, says the memorial, "there were then in that town, as some old inhabitants have told us, about forty cells or oratories, of which nothing was left but bare walls and empty altars."† Among these ruins, Reinfrid and his com-

Percy at Sneton: (p. 51.) but this is a gross mistake: none of the Norman barons can be supposed to have lived at Whitby or the neighbourhood till some years after the expedition in 1069, when the whole country was laid waste. The memorial gives no countenance to his assertion.

* Bawdwen's Domesday, p. 64, 161, &c. † Many of the Saxon churches were surrounded with porches, or oratories, each dedicated to some saint, and furnished with its particular altar. In these porches or chapels, which in the memorial are called "monasteria vel oratoria," divine worship was performed. Bed. L. II. c. 3. Hist. abbat. Wirem. et Gyr. Lingard's Antiqu. p. 481. The number of these chapels, reported to have been at Streoneshalh, is surely exaggerated. Charlton quotes this part of the memorial very incorrectly, p. 51.

panions took up their abode; and while they formed habitations for themselves, they probably, as at Jarrow, repaired some part of the church, or some one of its oratories, for public worship. Here this prior lived with his brethren, "in humility, patience, and charity; affording an example of virtue and piety to all around: so that in a short time he collected a number of respectable men, who assumed the monastic habit as a part of his fraternity."

It is not certainly known in what year Reinfrid settled at Whitby; but it could not be later than 1078; for in that year he was joined by one Stephen, who afterwards became abbot of York, and is usually called *Stephen Whitby*, because Whitby was the place where he began the monastic life, and perhaps the place of his nativity. This Stephen, who superseded Reinfrid in the government of the priory, has left us a tedious narrative of his proceedings at Whitby, and of his removal to Lestingham, and afterwards to York. From this narrative, which is published in the Monasticon,* we may form some idea of Stephen's character. He seems to have been another Wilfrid, constantly at variance with his neighbours, ever striving for power or for emolument. At Whitby, he was always contending with the lord of the manor; at York, he was continually at war with the archbishop. We can see in his story the spirit of pride and selfishness, lurking under a disgusting affectation of humility. The following specimen of

* I. p. 383, &c.

his history, being that part which relates to Whitby, will enable the reader to judge for himself.

After relating how Reinfrid, having lived some time at Jarrow, removed from thence to Whitby, and how he himself, with several others, who heard of his fame, entered his monastery, and submitted to his discipline, Stephen thus proceeds with his narrative: "In the course of a few days, Reinfrid and all the congregation, who yielded to his advice and command, laid upon me the management of the whole monastery; and, at length, I know not by what judgment of God, they chose me to be over them, both by the command of the king, and in obedience to the venerable archbishops, Lanfranc of Canterbury, and Thomas of York, though I was very unwilling and long reluctant."

"Being thus elected abbot, and seeing the place to be in its infancy, and possessed of no worldly revenues, I wished, by the divine assistance, to restore it to its former glory; but many obstacles arose in my way, and hindered the completion of my designs. For one of the king's barons, called William de Percy, who had given us this place when it was desert, seeing the spot so greatly improved, opposed us both by himself and by his men; and repenting of his good deed, he used every method to expel us. At the same time, pirates from the sea, and robbers from the country, of whom there were then great numbers, spreading themselves abroad in every direction, attacked us, and plundered our property; and at last,

they assaulted us one night in a body, and putting us all to flight, they seized all our goods, took every thing away, and even carried some of us captives into strange lands. Being therefore sorrowful even unto death, and desiring by any means to escape impending ruin, we resolved to make known our troubles to the king, who in the exercise of his clemency, had compassion on our distresses for God's sake, and shewed himself a ready and a willing friend."

"Now there was in the king's own demesnes, not far from Wytteby, a place which is called Lestingham, then indeed vacant, but formerly noted for the number and piety of the monks who lived there. This place was given us by the king, and we began to restore it by degrees, and to erect such buildings as were necessary for a habitation for monks; that neither the aforesaid William de Percy, in whose manor we dwelt, nor any others, might think of oppressing us, when they knew that we had a convenient retreat under the hand and power of the king himself."

"After these things, while an opportunity drew nigh, when I should receive episcopal ordination and benediction, as an abbot, it came into my mind, that I should go to Lestingham, and be consecrated abbot of that place also; since a professed monk is subject only to the royal authority. This thing seemed good and proper both to our congregation, and to the king himself, and to lord Thomas our archbishop, as well as to all whom I consulted; and at length, by God's appointment and with their consent, it was carried

into effect. But the often-named William, as he was wont both before and after, continued to disturb and oppose us violently; and, as has been said, he strove by every means to drive us from his manor, where our conventicle still abode. Being therefore bowed down with sorrow, I was often forced to go to the justices of the kingdom, to make known our misery and oppression, and to beg their assistance against our oppressors. This proving ineffectual, I crossed the sea into Normandy, where the king and William de Percy then happened to be, and I exerted myself, by entreaties with the king and by every other means in my power, to secure for us in future the peaceable possession of our property; and at last, having received a writing of peace, I returned home, and for a short time obtained peace for us and ours. But now the hostility of William became more violent than ever, nor did he suffer us to enjoy any settled peace, till he had wholly driven us from Witteby. In short, being compelled by these causes, the pressure of long and accumulating misfortunes, and the implacable enmity of the often-mentioned William, Wytteby being now taken from us openly and unjustly, we retired by the king's orders, to the foresaid place called Lestingeam; hoping to find this, at least, a place of rest. But, 'as the way of man is not in his own power,' almighty God disposed of us otherwise, and graciously provided better things, both for our bodies and for our souls for ever."

Stephen then goes on to tell, how he and his

fraternity were harassed by robbers at Lestingham also; how he made known their case to Alan, earl of Richmond, of the noble family of Bretagne, with whom he had formerly been intimate; how this earl, taking compassion on them, gave him some land at York, where he founded St. Mary's abbey; and what violent disputes he had there with the archbishop.

The grand object of Stephen, in this narrative, is to exalt himself; and this object he seeks to promote, not only at the expence of William de Percy and others, but at the expence of truth itself. I can easily believe that he was not long in our monastery till he got himself placed at the head of it; that he was not satisfied with the humble title of *prior*, but assumed that of *abbot*; and that, not content with being abbot of Whitby, he wished to be abbot of Lestingham also: but who will believe, that he was extremely averse to preferment, and regarded it as a judgment of God; that the king and the two archbishops procured his election at Whitby; that they felt a similar interest in his appointment to Lestingham; and that it was by the king's orders that he finally removed thither, to avoid a cruel persecution? These, and other improbable stories in the narrative, would have led me to reject the whole as a fable, had not some parts of it been corroborated by the evidence of Domesday. In that invaluable record, the abbot of York, who was this very Stephen, is mentioned as the holder of one carucate of land at Lestingham, and six at Spaunton, with other lands at Kirkby and Dalby,

all which he held under Berenger de Todeni; and the holder also of the lands of Prestebi and Sourebi, belonging to Whitby and Sneaton, which he had of William de Percy.* The lands of Prestebi, consisting of two carucates, are obviously the same which William de Percy first gave to Reinfrid and his fraternity, as stated in the memorial; and unto these had been added the lands of Sourebi,† consisting of four carucates.

By this it appears, that though Stephen removed from Whitby, and from Lestingham, he still retained possession of the lands which he held as abbot of those places. Indeed he never parted with the lands at Lestingham; the monastery there was abolished, and its possessions were given by William the conqueror, and Berenger de Todeni, to St. Mary's abbey.§ But the lands of Prestebi and Soureby soon reverted to the monastery of Whitby, and perhaps at the time of the survey, Stephen was only the nominal holder.

We may easily perceive from Stephen's narrative, that his own ambition was the chief cause of the difference between him and William de Percy. He found that the monastery "had no worldly revenues, and wished to restore it to its ancient grandeur;" in other words, he wished to claim, as the patrimony of St. Hilda, the lands formerly belonging to it. These lands, or at least a great portion of them, belonged to William de Percy; and though he was willing to bestow a few carucates for the support of the monks,

* Bawdwen's Domesday, p. 119, 64, 65. † Supposed to be Sneaton-Thorp. § Dugd. Monast. I. p. 387, 390.

he was not yet prepared to part with the whole. Aware of the intrigues of Stephen, and observing him to be an ambitious, designing man, Percy could not but view him with a jealous eye, and desire to get rid of so troublesome a neighbour.

Amidst these quarrels and removals, it is hard to say what became of Reinfrid. Stephen takes no further notice of him; and it is observable, that the Whitby memorial above-mentioned, takes no notice at all of Stephen; but seems to intimate, that Reinfrid continued to hold the office of prior till his death. "When several years had elapsed, he was performing a journey on the business of his monastery, and came to Ormesbricge, where workmen were making a bridge over the Derwent; and leaping from his horse to assist them, without being on his guard, a beam fell upon him, and his skull being fractured, he immediately expired. His little body* was brought to Hachanos, and buried in the cemetery of St. Peter the apostle, in the middle of the east wall, opposite the altar."

As Reinfrid was buried at Hackness, and as at the time of the conqueror's survey there were three churches at that place, and six carucates of land belonging to St. Hilda, it is probable that, during the disputes between Stephen and William de Percy, Reinfrid with the more peaceable part of the convent retired to Hackness.† If the convent was then at Whitby, it is strange that his body was not conveyed

* "Corpusculum."—It seems he was of small stature. † See General History, p. 91, 92. Domesday, p. 173.

thither, especially as it was but a *little* one; unless we suppose, which is not improbable, that the church of Whitby was not yet sufficiently repaired to be adapted for interment. The church of St. Peter at Whitby, had been granted by earl Hugh to Reinfrid and his convent, along with the church of Fleinesburg, or Flambrough, according to a charter in the Whitby records;* yet, it might still be ruinous, and earl Hugh, being the proper lord of the manor, may be supposed to have the best right to give a grant of the ruins.

Reinfrid was succeeded in the office of prior by Serlo de Percy, a brother of William de Percy; but at what time this change occurred we have no means of ascertaining. According to Simeon of Durham, Reinfrid died before any of his brethren settled at York; and the abbot Stephen was still living when Simeon wrote that passage.† On the contrary, the memorial above-quoted intimates that Reinfrid was prior for many years§ But, if he died before Stephen's removal to York, his priorship could not last more than eight or ten years, even including the time

* Fol. 7. Dugd. Mon. p. 73. The authenticity of this charter is partly confirmed by Domesday, where we find (p. 66.) that Flaneburg, or Flambrough, belonged to earl Hugh; yet it must be observed, that no mention is made of a church there. Independent of this circumstance, the charter is a little suspicious, both because no notice is afterwards taken in our records of the church of Flambrough, which is known to have been given by one Wm. Fitz-Nigel to the priory of Bridlington; and because the charter in question has not been among those that were first written in the Whitby Register, but has afterwards been inserted in a different handwriting on a blank space that had been left at the bottom of a page. In regard to the antiquity of the name Flambrough, see Gen. History, p. 20. Note. † Sim. Dunelm. c. 57. § Transactis igitur plurimis annorum curriculis, &c.

in which he was superseded by Stephen; for the latter was abbot of York previous to the completion of Domesday in 1086. Were we to suppose, with Charlton,* that the charter of king William, in the 47th leaf of the Whitby register, is a charter of the conqueror, then Serlo must have been prior before the year 1087: but that charter, compared with other authentic documents, contains intrinsic evidence, that it was obtained after the possessions of the monastery were far more considerable than they were in the conqueror's reign, and that it must therefore have been given by William Rufus. It is true, that in another memorial in our records,† the gift of Whitby Strand to the monastery is placed in the reign of the conqueror: but that writing is obviously incorrect; for, it was not by William de Percy, but by his son Alan, that Whitby Strand was granted to the monastery; and, though William granted some part of that benefaction, his charter was not given till the reign of William Rufus.§

As the time when Serlo became prior is uncertain, as well as the time when he first assumed the religious habit, so we are no less in the dark respecting the period of his death. Some transactions, however, which occurred during his priorship, are recorded in another of our memorials,‡ of which the following is a literal translation:

"In the time of William II king of England, son of William the bastard king of England, there arose

* P. 56. † Fol. 129. Monast. I. p. 72. § Fol. 8. Monast. I. p. 72. ‡ Ibid. p. 414.

to the monastery of Whiteby, and to Serlo the prior, and to the brethren of the same place, great tribulation, and distress, and persecution, such as they had in past years, in the days of Rainfrid our prior of Whitby. For there came robbers and plunderers, by day and by night, from the woods and from the hiding-places where they lurked, and plundered all their substance, and laid waste that holy place. In like manner, pirates also came and wasted that place, as they had compassion on none. For which cause, Serlo the prior, and the monks of Whitby, shewed William de Percy their calamity and misery, and begged him to give them a place of abode at Hackenas; and he gave them the church of St. Mary of Hackenas, that they might build a monastery there; because in the same town St. Hilda the abbess had built a monastery. He also willingly granted their petition, that, when peace was procured, they might return again to Whitby, to the aforesaid monastery. They began, therefore, to build a monastery at the aforesaid church of St. Mary; and there they remained some time, and led a very religious life. Afterwards there arose a great strife between the said two brothers, William de Percy, and Serlo de Percy his brother, the prior of Whitby; because William de Percy had given the towns of Scaxby and of Everley to Ralph de Everley, his esquire, who had served him many years. Then William de Percy wished to take away from Serlo his brother, all the lands and towns which he had given to the said monastery of Whiteby,

When Serlo the prior learned this, he came in haste to William king of England; because he was his friend and most loving companion, when they were young soldiers, in the house and at the court of king William his father; and he shewed him all these things. And king William charged and commanded William de Percy, to keep the peace strictly, and in all respects, with his brother Serlo, prior of Whitby and of Hackenas, and with the monks serving God there, and to give them no further molestation. But Serlo the prior, wishing to withdraw himself from his brother William de Percy, and, to reside in the demesnes of his lord the king, that his brother might no more injure and insult him, begged king William, to give him and his monks, for a perpetual alms, six carucates of land, that were in his domain, two in Hackenas, and four in Northfield, with their appurtenances."*

From this paper it would appear, that the reflections which Stephen made on William de Percy were not altogether groundless; unless we suppose that Serlo discovered the same temper as Stephen, and by this means provoked his brother's resentment. It is remarkable, that here again our records take no notice of Stephen, but refer the calamities which he

* The memorial closes with a latin couplet in the style of that age:

"Gliscens ultorem regi fert Serlo merorem
In fundatorem sumens hunc posteriorem."

These barbarous lines are rather obscure—They may mean; "Seeking a protector against the founder [of the monastery], Serlo brings his complaint to the king; having recourse to him as his last refuge:" or they may be rendered; "Seeking a protector, Serlo brings his complaint to the king, taking him for a second founder [of the monastery.]"

describes, to the days of Rainfrid the prior. Those calamities, which were now repeated, furnish a proof of the unhappy state of the country at that period; when robbers and pirates swarmed in every quarter, and, bidding defiance to the laws, committed the most daring crimes.

Domesday gives us much assistance for understanding the transactions here recorded. At the time of the survey, Hackness, Suffield, and Everley were in the lordship of William de Percy, and contained in all eight carucates. Of those carucates, however, two were in the soke of Walsgrave, which was a royal manor; and of course belonged to the king, though William de Percy seems to have then occupied them. The other six carucates are called the land of St. Hilda, that is, of St. Hilda's monastery; in the same manner as the lands of the church of York are called in Domesday the lands of St. Peter, and those of the church of Durham the lands of St. Cuthbert. Hence it is obvious, that previous to the survey, William de Percy had not only given our monastery six carucates of land in Presteby and Soureby, near Whitby, but also the same number of carucates at Hackness, Suffield, and Everley. Now, however, he recalled a part of this grant; and gave, out of these six carucates, the towns of Everley and Scaxby to Ralph his esquire. *Scaxby* must be the name of some small village, or farm, near Everley; and cannot be a mistake for *Stakesby* (then called *Staxeby*); for the latter was not given to the monastery till some years after

this period. The lands which Serlo begged of the king, consisted of the two carucates above-mentioned, which, though lying in Hackness, were in the soke of the royal manor of Walsgrave; and four carucates in Northfield, which was a royal berewick: and it appears from the charter of William Rufus, that he not only granted those six carucates, but added other two in Burniston, another appendage to Walsgrave.*

Of the lands of Everley, a part only was given by lord William to his friend Ralph, whose family from that time had the name *De Everley*. The grant made to him was never recalled; yet William made ample amends for the alienation, by his subsequent grants to Serlo and the monastery.

From this memorial we may infer, that if the convent retired to Hackness in the time of Reinfrid, it soon returned to Whitby. The residence of Serlo at Hackness was also temporary; for we learn from other documents, that he and his convent afterwards resided at Whitby; where he seems to have died soon after the year 1100. Yet Hackness was not wholly deserted, but became a cell to the monastery of Whitby.

Serlo was succeeded by his nephew, William de Percy, who obtained the title of *abbot*. Under him our monastery became great and flourishing.—And now, having thus far traced its progress, it is not my design in the sequel, to place every thing in chronological order, but to give a short account of the succession of abbots, and then present the reader with a view of different interesting subjects, relating to the monastery, arranged under their proper heads.

* Domesday, p. 10, 173. Charlton, p. 68.

CHAP. VIII.

WILLIAM THE ABBOT—NICHOLAS—BENEDICT—AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, UNTO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY.

WILLIAM, the first abbot of Whitby, was of the noble family of Percy. His uncle of the same name, who was the head of the family, engaged in the memorable crusade, in 1096 and 1097, under Robert duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus; and, like the greater part of the crusaders, he never returned from that mad expedition; for he died near Jerusalem, at a place called Mount-Joy, where he was honourably interred.* Besides his brother Serlo the prior, he must have had another brother, who was father to William the abbot; but the name of that brother is not recorded.

* Registrum Whitbiense, Fol. 139.—The family name *Percy* is derived from a town so called in the Lower Normandy, where the original seat of the Percies was, and where a branch of them still remains. Ridpath's Hist. p. 70. Note. The first William de Percy was surnamed *Asgernuns, Algernuns*, or *Ohtlegernuns*, which some render *With the Whiskers*, while others translate it *With the clear eyes*. His wife was called Emma de Port. Charlton's conceit that she derived her name from the Port of Whitby, is scarcely worth noticing. The family of De Port, to which she belonged, was an illustrious Norman family of that age. Dugd. Baronage, I. p. 463, 465. The idea that Sneaton was the chief residence of the Percy family is equally groundless. They might have a manor house in that place, or at Whitby, which they might occasionally visit, and a branch of the family lived there about the year 1300; but their chief seats were at Topcliff and Spofforth. Dugd. Baron. I, p. 269, 270.

At what time William de Percy assumed the religious habit, or when he was appointed abbot of Whitby, is not known; but, from a memorial in our records,* we find that he was abbot in 1109. He governed our monastery for about twenty years, if not more; and during that period the wealth of the establishment rapidly increased, through the liberality of his cousin Alan de Percy, son and successor of his uncle William, and that of the other branches of that numerous and flourishing family. It was in the time of the abbot William, that the whole of Whitby Strand became the property of the monastery; a part of it had been previously granted to Serlo and his convent.

William was succeeded by Nicholas; who must have entered on the office of abbot previous to the year 1129: for, through the influence of Thurstan archbishop of York, he obtained from pope Honorius II, who died in the month of June in that year, a bull to confirm the possessions and privileges granted to the abbey; and, as that bull is dated in December,† it must have been granted in the year 1128, at the latest. He appears to have governed the monastery about ten or twelve years; during which time its possessions were still increasing.

The third abbot of Whitby was Benedict. He presided in our monastery, at the time when Roger Hoveden wrote the passage relating to its revival.§ He obtained a bull from pope Eugenius III. in favour of his abbey, more full and particular than that of

* Fol. 136. † Fol. 31. § Nunc *Withebi* appellatur,—hodie habet Benedictum abbatem. Annal. P. I.

Honorius.* Charlton calls him a *foreign* ecclesiastic,† but upon what authority I have not discovered. It is more certain that, owing to some disturbance in the monastery, he was compelled, after some years, to relinquish his charge. The following memorial in our records§ furnishes an account of his resignation, with some interesting particulars relating to his successor, and to the affairs of the abbey at that period:

"In the year of our Lord M.C.XL.VIII. Benedict, abbot of the monastery of St. Peter the apostle and St. Hylda the abbess at Witebi, unable to bear the troubles that were brought on him by some of his adversaries, voluntarily resigned his office, with the consent of the whole convent, in a chapter held at Beverley, in the presence of lord Henry, archbishop of York. Yet the same Benedict, with the consent of the whole chapter, continued in the church of All-Saints, in Fischergate at York.‡ Then the monks

* Reg. Whitb. fol. 31. † P. 96. According to Charlton, he succeeded Nicholas in 1139; but I do not find sufficient data for fixing the precise year. § Fol. 141. ‡ On the top of the page where these transactions are recorded, (fol. 141.) we have the questions usually put to the abbot at his ordination, which will be afterwards noticed particularly. One of those questions relates to the care of church property, both in recovering what had been lost, and preserving what remained. Hence Charlton, imagining that those questions were only put to Benedict's successor, accuses that abbot of "squandering away the abbey revenues," and "heaping favours on his three nephews, Richard, Hugh, and Benedict." P. 110. But this reflection on Benedict appears to have no foundation. The possessions of the monastery, so far from being injured under his government, were considerably increased; and it is clearly implied in the memorial, that, whatever may have been the origin of his troubles, he had suffered unmerited persecution. Among the witnesses to the charter of Thorfine, (fol. 96.) granting the church of Crossby Ravensworth to our abbey, we find "Richard, a deacon; Hugh, a Clergyman, and Benedict, nephews to the abbot Benedict:" but the first does not appear to be of the number of the nephews, and we have no account whatever of any favours heaped on any one of them.

of Witebi, being at a loss whom to choose for their abbot, came to their archbishop Henry Murdac, to obtain his advice and assistance. He answered them, that he would not permit them to elect, nor to have, any other abbot, besides Mr. Benedict, unless the whole convent would submit to his counsel, and choose one of three persons whom he should nominate to them: viz. Mr. Thomas the grammarian, a monk of the monastery of St. Alban's, his own nephew; Mr. Richard, prior of the monastery of St. Peter of Burgh; and Mr. German, prior of the monastery of St. Oswine the king, of Tinemue [Tynemouth], who was afterwards made abbot of Selebi [Selby]. The brethren of Witebi, after consulting their friends, regularly elected, for their abbot, the prior Richard; because they had learned, that he was a very prudent man, and was of noble extraction. They sent, therefore, to the monastery of Burgh, Walter their prior,* and Mr. Martin a monk, respectable men, who from youth to old age had spent their life in the service of their monastery. The brethren of Burgh received them honourably, on St. Dunstan's day, which was on the octaves of the Ascension; for in the same year both these festivals fell on one day. The monks of Burgh, unwilling to lose the company of their prior, would scarcely consent to his promotion: but at length, on the second day of pentecost [whit-monday], he was honourably dismissed by his abbot and convent, with his attendants, and with the two monks above-

* Osbert was prior during the first part of Benedict's time, Reg. Whitb. f. 9, 96. Mr. Martin was the cellarist, Ibid. f. 16, 55.

named. At York, they were introduced to Stephen, king of England, by whom they were graciously received; and when the king heard of Mr. Richard's being elected by the monks of Witebi, and of the character of the man himself, he was made abbot of Witebi by his orders, and the king received his homage."*

"Mr. Richard, the abbot, entered the monastery of Whitebi committed to him, on the first sunday after the octaves of pentecost, being the nones of June.† There were then in the same monastery xxxvi monks, who received him honourably, and congratulated him in the Lord. In what manner he lived, how he improved the house of the Lord, in adding to its revenues, and buildings, and churches, and possessions; how kind, how humble, how bountiful, how discreet, how merciful he was, I am wholly unable to tell. At length, having spent xxvi years, vii months, and fifteen days, in his pastoral charge, he arrived after long and great afflictions, at the period of his dissolution; when, having received, after cockcrowing, the sacred viaticum of the holy communion, at break of day, while there stood by him Mr. Thomas the prior and the rest of the brethren, whom, like a pious father, he had cherished, taught, and regulated, he slept with his fathers, on the kalends of January§ in the year of our Lord M.C.LXXV. and was buried, on the

* Here, as in some other passages, Charlton takes an unwarrantable liberty with the memorial, by inserting an account of Richard's ordination, and putting into the archbishop's mouth the questions which I have mentioned in a former note. † That is, the 0th day of June. § The 1st of January.

fourth day, by the same brethren, in the chapter-house which he himself had built, near to lord abbot William.*"

"He left in the same monastery xxxviii monks, whose names are these: Thomas the prior, Ralph i, Martin, Aschetine, Richard i, Bartholomew, William i, Gregory, William ii, Walter i, Constantine, Maurice, Odo, Alexander, Ralph ii, Richard ii, Robert, William iii, Hervey, Geoffrey i, Walter ii, John i, Henry, Roger, Peter, Hugh, Thomas ii, Geoffrey ii, Henry ii, Nicholas, Adam, John ii, Ralph iii, Ralph iiii, Everard, Reginald, Rannulf, Michael."

"In the second year after the death of the abbot Richard, Mr. Richard prior of Kirchebi,† a monk of the monastery of St. Nicholas of Angiers, was chosen abbot of Witebi; and he entered the said monastery committed to him, on the day of the passion of the apostles Peter and Paul.§ There were then in the same monastery thirty-eight monks, who received him honourably; on whom may the Lord bestow his grace, that they may reign with him for ever. Amen."

From the close of this curious record, we perceive that it was written soon after the accession of this second Richard, in the year 1176. Had the monks, at other periods, been as particular in recording their transactions, the history of the monastery

* Either the chapter-house had been built near William's grave, or the remains of that abbot had been deposited in the building after its erection, and those of the abbot Richard placed beside them.
† Monks Kirkby, in Warwickshire, a cell to the monastery of St. Nicholas of Angiers. See Tanner's Notitia, p. 569. § June 29th.

would not have been attended with so much uncertainty, and would not have required such close investigation.

One event, however, in the life of the first Richard, is omitted in this memorial, which it would not be proper to pass over. During his time, the king of Norway entered the port of Whitby with many ships, ransacked the goods of the monks, laid waste every thing, both within doors and without; and, though he shed no blood, yet he carried off with him whatever he could find: so that they who, by the management of their abbot, had grown very rich, now became very poor; the rapacious Norwegians having left them nothing.*

Richard II, surnamed De Waterville, was the abbot who gave the town of Whitby a charter, erecting it into a free burgh; but this charter was rendered void, in the time of Peter his successor, through the jealousy of the monks and venality of the court; as will be noticed more fully in the following Book.

Peter, the sixth abbot, succeeded Richard previous to the year 1190.† He appears to have died in 1211; when king John, who was vainly attempting to throw off the papal yoke, took possession of our abbey with its revenues, and it remained in his hands, without an abbot, for three years.§ At the end of that period, Nicholas the pope's legate, after his

* Lel. Coll. I. p. 17. From this passage we also learn, that Martin was abbot of Burgh, when Richard was prior there. Burgh was afterwards called Peterborough: it is in Northamptonshire.
† Burton's Monasticon, p. 80. Charlton, p. 147. § Reg. Whitb. f. 10, 11, &c. Charlton, p. 155, 156, &c.

master had triumphed over the weak monarch, appointed John de Evesham to be abbot of Whitby ;* and he held the office till the year 1222.† The eighth abbot of Whitby was Roger de Scarborough, who is said to have spent some of his younger years in the cell at Middleburgh. In his time the abbey received a great accession of territory and wealth, and was then in the zenith of its grandeur. He died in 1244.§

Of the abbots who succeeded Roger, nothing memorable is recorded, except what may be introduced with propriety in the following chapters. A list of those abbots is subjoined in the note. ‖

* An abbey-warden, appointed by the king, had superintended the monastery during the vacancy. Fol. 68. † Charlton, p. 158—169. Reg. Whitb. passim. This abbot is omitted, both in Burton's Monasticon, and in the appendix to Tanner. § Reg. Whitb. passim. Charlton p. 169—203. Our historian represents him as a man of singular talents and respectability ; but upon what authority I have not found. ‖ John de Steyngreve, who died in 1258 ; William de Brinlston, who died in 1265 ; Robert de Langtoft, who was the first abbot of Whitby summoned up to Parliament, and died in 1278 ; William de Kirkham, who died in 1304 ; Thomas de Malton, who resigned in 1322, on account of his age and infirmities; Thomas de Hawkesgarth, a monk of Whitby, who, like his predecessor, resigned in his old age, in 1352 ; William de Burton, also a monk of Whitby, who was elected in 1355, and died in 1374 ; John de Richmond, another monk of Whitby, who died in 1393 ; Peter de Hertilpole, a monk of Whitby, and bursar or treasurer of the abbey, who died in 1394 ; Thomas de Bolton, who died in 1413 ; John de Skelton, who died in 1437 ; Dr. Hugh Elerton, who died in 1462 ; Thomas Pickering, who died in 1475 ; William Colson, who died in 1499 ; John Lovel, a monk of Whitby, who died in 1501 ; William de Evesham, who died in 1505 ; John Benestede, who died in 1514 ; Thomas Bydnell, who died in 1516 ; John Whitby, a native of this place, who died next year ; Thomas York, presbyter of Myton, who died in 1527 ; John Topcliffe, alias Hexham, a native of Topcliffe, and canon of the priory of Hexham, who, amidst the troubles preceding the dissolution of the monastery, resigned his office, in 1538 ; and Henry de Vall, the prior of Whitby, succeeding him, was the last of the abbots : he surrendered the monastery, Dec. 14, 1540. See Burton's Monast. p. 80. Appendix to Tanner's Notitia, last page. Charlton, p. 203, 208, &c.

CHAP. IX.

POSSESSIONS, PRIVILEGES, AND IMMUNITIES OF THE MONASTERY. ITS REVENUES TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL. MANAGEMENT OF ITS PROPERTY.

THE territory of the ancient monastery of Streoneshalh was of great extent; but, where its boundaries were fixed, and what were the revenues which it yielded, cannot be ascertained. We are not left in the same uncertainty in regard to the abbey of Whitby that succeeded it; for the possessions of the latter are well known from authentic documents still extant.

The principal source of our information on this subject, is the book which has been already quoted under the name of the *Whitby Register* or *Records*, and which is sometimes called *The Abbot's Book*.* It is a small folio volume containing 144 leaves† of vellum, with an appendix of strong paper, the leaves of which are not numbered. It is strongly bound in oak boards; and has a clasp of a very simple construction: one end of a strap of leather is fixed on the outside of the one board, and the other end, being perforated at

* In the possession of Mrs. Katherine Cholmley of Howsham, lady of the manor of Whitby; through whose goodness I have been repeatedly allowed to consult the book, and to make extracts. † The highest number is only 143, two of the leaves having been marked 20.

different distances, is fastened by means of one of its holes, to a brass tack on the outside of the other board.* In this volume, which is in good preservation, are recorded almost all the charters and securities for the estates of the abbey, with a variety of memorials and other interesting papers. The greater part of it is beautifully written, with the initial capitals illuminated, or painted. About 70 leaves have been written in one hand, beginning with the charter of the first William de Percy, in the leaf marked 8:† the remainder, including the blank leaves left at the beginning, have been filled up at various times, and in different hands. The seven leaves immediately preceding the one marked 8, have been filled up before the leaves were numbered, and are chiefly occupied with small charters. Six blank leaves still remained in the front of the book. Of these, the two next before that marked 1, contain an ancient index to the volume: in the other four we find a catalogue of the library, a long memorial of the founding of the abbey and of its possessions, a copy of the questions put to the abbot at his consecration, and the memorial respecting Benedict and his successors, formerly quoted.§

* In the east window of St. Peter's church at Barton-upon-Humber, is a representation, in painted glass, of Henry lord Beaumont, habited as a pilgrim, bearing in his left hand a book which is fastened by a clasp of the same kind. He lived about the year 1296. His portrait, taken from the painted glass, has been beautifully engraved by Mr. William Fowler of Winterton. † That this has been originally intended to be the first leaf, is obvious, not only from the handwriting, but from the following notice at the top of the leaf: Incipit transcriptum omnium cartarum pertinentium ad abbeiam de Wyteby—"Here begins a copy of all the charters belonging to Wyteby abbey." This notice, like most of the titles of the charters, has been inserted in red ink. § See p. 260. The first six leaves, originally left blank, are

The charters in this valuable register are not arranged in the order of time; the plan pursued is, to place together the documents relating to the same subject. Hence blanks have been left in various parts, for the insertion of future charters; and some of these blanks have been filled up with matter of a different description. A few of the documents are left in an imperfect state, and a great many are repeated; especially in the appendix, which, along with these duplicates, contains several papers of a more recent date than those in the body of the volume. After all, a number of the charters belonging to the abbey are not to be found in this volume; for, besides charters that appear to have been lost, there are others yet extant which neither occur in the register, nor in the appendix.* It may be proper to add, that several mistakes have been committed in copying the charters into the register, some of which will be noticed and corrected; as well as some mistakes in Charlton's translations. I admire the patience of Charlton in translating nearly the whole register, besides a number of other documents; and it is more surprising, that he should

now numbered 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143: so that the book begins with fol. 138, containing the catalogue. This is accounted for by the following curious notice on a blank leaf next the board: "I founde this Booke figured 137, and these sixe first leafes left unfigured, and therefore rather chuse to figure these vi first leafes after the 137: then to Blott out the olde figures and refigure the Booke a newe." Whether this notice was written by Dodsworth or Dugdale, or some other person, I cannot say; but the memorial is quoted in the Monasticon according to this numbering. I. p. 73.

* This book is not the only Whitby Register: for we find in Tanner's Notitia (p. 632), that there was another bought at a sale by the earl of Kent; besides others consulted by Dodsworth.

accomplish the task so well, than that he should occasionally fall into errors. Yet I do not mean to follow his example, in fatiguing the reader with strings of charters and memorials: the most interesting of those documents will be inserted in the appendix, together with an abstract of the remainder. Here it will be sufficient to take a cursory view of the lands, possessions, and privileges of our monastery.

It is necessary further to premise, that the quantity of land given to the monks cannot be exactly determined; because the measures by which their lands are reckoned are very uncertain. The measures which occur in the register are perches, rods, acres, oxgangs, carucates, and knight's fees; to which may be added tofts, crofts, and other vague terms. All those measures varied so considerably, in different places, or even in the same place, that it would be vain to attempt to reduce them to any fixed standard. Even the perches, rods, and acres, cannot be precisely defined; much less the higher denominations. Thus in the charter of John of Ayton, we read of "a toft in Wicham, 16 perches broad, and 33 perches long, measured by the perch of Martun;" which implies that there were perches of another standard:* and from a charter of Anfrid de Chancy, it would appear that, at Skirpenbeck, *rods* were sometimes called *perches*.† Thus also, Henry I gave to the brethren in Godeland "one carucate of arable land, according to the carucates of Pickering;"§ which

* Regist. f. 56. Charlton, p. 162. † R. f. 120. Ch. p. 121.
§ Unam carruccatam terræ harandam secundum caruccatas de phicrinc. R. f. 52. Ch. p. 75.

intimates that the carucates there were not the same as in some other places. The most distinct account, in our records, of the relative value of oxgangs and carucates, is that which is contained in a survey of the abbey lands at Skirpenbeck, made in the year 1446: "In this town, ten carucates make a knight's fee, and eight or ten oxgangs make a carucate of land, and twelve acres make an oxgang of land."* By this it appears, that a carucate, at Skirpenbeck, contained from 96 to 120 acres; but I suspect that many of the carucates, mentioned in the register, were much smaller: and indeed the passage implies, that the measures at Skirpenbeck were not the same with those made use of in Whitby Strand.† The relative proportion between perches, rods, and acres, may be presumed to have been, in general, much the same as in the present day.

The lands belonging to our monastery were of small extent in the time of Reinfrid, consisting only of six carucates at Whitby, and the same number at Hackness:§ but, in the days of Serlo, after his reconciliation with his brother William, the latter made some important additions to the territory at both places; granting unto Serlo and the monks "the towns of Wyteby, and Stainskar, and Neuham, and Stachesby;" with "Nordfeld, and Sudfeld, Everlaye,

* R. f. 135. Ch. p. 272. † Yet I cannot subscribe to the opinion of some, that the carucate was the same with the oxgang, or bovate: it is manifest from the whole of our register, as well as from the charters of other abbeys, that the bovate was much smaller than the carucate. § See p. 250, 256.

and Brokesay, and Tornelaye," near Hackness; besides the tithes of several of his manors, the church of Whitby, two churches at Hackness, and the port of Whitby.* A much greater accession of property was acquired under the abbot William, who purchased north and south Fyling, with Normanby and Hawsker, from Tancred the Fleming; and who obtained a charter from his cousin Alan de Percy, not only confirming this purchase, but adding to it all those lands that were wanting to compleat the territory since called *Whitby Strand*. The boundaries of this territory are described in that charter, and in many others; and they have remained unaltered from that period unto the present times. It comprehended the port of Whitby, with the seacoast from thence to Blawych, a small creek near Peak allum-works; from this creek the boundary proceeded to Greendike, an ancient ditch or trench, crossing the moor beside Stoupe Brow beacon nearly in a S. W. direction;† from thence it went on to Swinestyshag, and to Thornley, including all Thornley; and to Kirkley, and Copkeldbrook, and thence along the brow of the hill, beyond Thievesdikes, to Staincrossgate, near the town of Suffeld; and to Gretahead, and to Elsicroft, and to the moss, as far as the middle of the moss, and thence to the river Derwent: from thence the boundary returned along the Derwent (including half the stream) even to its source; it then proceeded in a N. W. direction, along the moors, to Lillacross,

* Reg. f. 8. Monast. I. 72. † Tradition ascribes this ditch to lady Hilda; but it is probably of a much older date.

Scotgrainshoues, and Silhoue ;* from whence it descended to Lithebeck, proceeding along that stream, to where it falls into the Esk, and then along the Esk (including half the river) to where it receives Brockholebeck, a rivulet which separates Whitby parish from Egton ; ascending this rivulet, it proceeded northward to Swarthouecross, beside Hilda's well ; and from thence to Merhoue, near the corner of the Horsecroft, and to Thordisa (the ancient name of East Row beck, and of a village which stood on it) ; and, proceeding eastward to the sea, returned along the shore to Whitby.†

This extensive territory the monks of Whitby denominated their *liberty ;* and their other lands and possessions were said to be *extra libertatem*— "without the liberty." These possessions, acquired at various times, were also very considerable. They were chiefly situated near those cells and churches which belonged to the monastery, and which will be noticed more particularly in a subsequent chapter. They had considerable estates at Middleburgh, Ayton, Ingleby, Liverton, Hinderwell, and other parts in Cleveland ; and at Hutton-Bushell, Cayton, Burniston, and other places in Pickering-Lythe. Of their distant possessions, the chief part lay at Newton on the Wolds, Skirpenbeck near Stamfordbridge, Bustard-Thorp near York, Crossby-Ravenswarth, in Westmoreland, and at Hetune and Oxnam near Jedburgh, in Scotland.

* The *Sil-houe* is situated on the whinstone ridge. † R. f. 8, &c. Ch. p. 63, &c.

Besides grants of lands, with the buildings erected on those lands, donations of dwelling-houses were frequently made to the monastery. Most of these houses were in the city of York; a few of them were in Scarborough, and some in other towns.

In several instances, the lands or houses granted by charter, were not wholly alienated from their original possessors, but merely burdened with an annual rent, payable to the abbey; and, in some cases, only a certain proportion of the rent was allotted to the monks. Thus Ace, the son of Wimund of Lochinton, nephew to the abbot William, granted a yearly revenue of 3 shillings, out of an oxgang of land at Middleton, near Pickering; and the same gentleman granted half a carucate of land at Thouthorp under Gautris, but in such form, that Walter who held that land of him, should continue (and his heirs after him,) to hold it of the abbey, at the annual rent of 6 shillings.* In like manner, Walter de Percy de Rugemund granted two carucates of land at Newton on the Wolds, to Hervise, the son of Besing, and his heirs, for an annual rent of 26s. 8d. to be paid to

* R. f. 20, 43, 61, 62, 63. Ch. p. 101, 102, 103.—I have selected this instance, to have an opportunity of correcting a mistake in the charters of Ace and of Walter, respecting this half carucate. It is described by Ace as that half carucate—"quam Walterus filius Roberti quondam tenuit de me, *ubi capitale mallvagium ejus est in eadem villa.*" Charlton renders this last clause, which occurs also in Walter's charter,—"where he had his principal *brasier's shop*;" taking *mallvagium* for *maignagium*. If *mallvagium* or *malvagium* (for it may be so read) is the true reading, it would be better to translate it *forge*, or *smith's shop*, from *malleus*; or *orchard* from *malum*; for it can scarcely be supposed that there was any *brasier's* shop at such a place as Towthorp, much less, that this Walter had

himself, during his life, and to be paid to the abbey of Whitby after his death, without any addition.*

Many of the smaller benefactions, especially money-rents, were appropriated by the donors to particular uses; of which some instances will be afterwards given. Limitations of a different kind were annexed unto others of the grants. Thus Robert of Liverton, along with two oxgangs of land in Livertun, and one toft, gave the monks of Whitby the right of pasturage in his common; but with this restriction, that they should not burden him and his men with putting on too many cattle, nor take timber or pannage from his inclosed woods, without his leave.†

Some of the donations consisted in the homage, or service, which small tenants performed for their lands, in lieu of rent. Baldwin of Ieton, with his wife and sons, gave six oxgangs in Fieling, together with the homage of Hugh Brun, who held that land of them.§ Everard de Ros restored those two carucates in Burniston, which he held of the abbey; and

more brasier's shops than one: but I strongly suspect, that *mallvagium* is an error in the Register, and that the reading in the original charter was *messuagium—messuage*, or *dwelling-house*. Such phrases as *capitale messuagium*, *capitale manerium*, &c. are not uncommon in ancient charters.—From the *Compotus*, or *Rent-roll* of the abbey, for 1460, I find that in that year, which was above 300 years after the grant of Ace, this rent of 6 sh. was received from Towthorp.

* R. f. 54. Ch. p. 89. Yet it would seem, from the *Compotus* for 1396, and for 1460, that this rent was afterwards more than doubled. † R. f. 57. Ch. p. 132. Here there is another erratum in the Register, which reads the restrictive clause: "Ita cum quod nimietate *pecuniæ* suæ nec gravent me nec homines meos. &c." I can make no sense of the passage, without considering *pecuniæ suæ* as a mistake for *pecudis suæ*, or *pecoris sui*. § R. f. 61. Ch. p. 141.

also one homager called Norman of Brochessey, with three oxgangs of land, and the same service which he had been wont to perform for it.* John of Aton gave to the monastery the homage and service of Nichol of Aton and his heirs, with the toft and land which he had granted to Nichol and his heirs, for that homage and service.† On the other hand, Hugh Malet, when he made a gift of his lordship of Rowelle, reserved the villanes, with their tenure, to himself.§

The *villanes* mentioned in this last charter appear, however, to be of an inferior order to the *homagers* above-named; for while the *homagers*, such as Nichol of Aton, could possess property which descended to their heirs, the *villanes* held every thing at the will of their lord. They were a species of slaves, attached to the soil; and not only the cottages in which they dwelt, and the small parcels of land which they had for their support, but their services, their goods, their persons, and even their children, all belonged to the proprietor, and were at his disposal. In some of our charters, four classes of inferior tenants are named, viz. bondmen, cottagers, grassmen, and herdmen; ‖ but the bondmen were a kind of homagers superior to villanes, their services being limited by voluntary contract.‡ Sometimes villanes were allowed to hold land to the amount of two oxgangs or more. Thus, William de Percy of Kildale granted, by his charter, to the nunnery of Basedale,

* R. f. 63. Ch. p. 103. † R. f. 116. Ch. p. 190. § R. f. 12. Ch. p. 123. ‖ R. f. 6, 7. Ch. p. 221, 231. ‡ See Bawdwen's Domesday, *Glossary*, p. 2, 4, 21.

"two oxgangs of land in the town of Upsale, with a toft and croft, and all their appurtenances; namely those [oxgangs] which Stephen, the son of Usting, held;" and gave them also "the same Stephen, the son of Usting, with his goods, and all his offspring, without any reserve."* In one of the grants to our abbey, we find a carucate of land occupied by six families of villanes, which was nearly at the rate of two oxgangs to each family: "Richard de Boshale (or Bushell) gave one carucate of land in the town of Fordun—with all the men that possessed that land, and with all their *suites* (or families);† viz. Robert the son of Walter, with all his family; William his son, with all his family; Thomas the son of William [not the former William], with all his family; John the son of Suain, with all his family; William the son of Levine, with all his family; and Agnes a widow, with all her family."§ Among the benefactions to Guisbrough priory, there is a gift, from Picot de Lasceles, of "one oxgang of land in the town of Alesby; and Ralph, the son of William, the son of Turgis, with all his offspring, and Gunnilda his mother, with all their goods." ‖

* Dugd. Mon. I. p. 840. † The terms *secta* and *sequela* are used indiscriminately to denote young cattle following their mothers in the field. Thus we find grants of pasturage for so many cattle, "cum sequela sua unius anni—with their offspring of one year," or "cum sua secta de duobus annis—with their offspring of two years." Mon. I. p. 508, 841. As the *villanes* were considered as a kind of *cattle*, there is something appropriate in applying the same terms to their *offspring*. Yet, perhaps, *secta* or *sequela*, when *cum catallis* is not added, may include the *goods*, as well as the *family*, of the *villane*. § R. f. 45. Ch. p. 177. ‖ Recited in a charter of Hen. VIII. in the possession of Robert Chaloner, Esq. M. P.

In some instances, donations of villanes, or slaves, were made, without mentioning any lands to which they were attached. Thus, in the record last quoted, we learn, that Theobald de Lasceles gave to the priory of Guisbrough "Robert the son of Ketell, Godwin the overseer,* Ervise the son of Aslac, Wigan the son of Gamell, Robert the son of Ralph, Ralph the son of Godwin, Ingeberg the son of Aslac, Alice the wife of Serlo, John the son of William Dodde; with all their offspring, and their effects." In the same manner, Stephen de Blaby gave to our abbey, "as a pure and perpetual alms, the homage of the son of Thomas, with all his offspring, for ever, so that into whatever part of the world they might come, they should always remain free from the said Stephen and his heirs:"† and Stephen de Meinell granted, "as a pure and perpetual alms, William Cokelun of Aton, with all his offspring."§

* "Præpositum"—He was probably so called from his having been employed as a foreman, or under-steward, on some farm. † R. f. 25. Ch. p. 185. § R. 114. Ch. p. 190.

The odious traffic in human flesh, now so deservedly reprobated in this land of freedom, was carried on in this country for a long course of years. So early as the days of king Ella, some of the youth of Deira were exported to be sold at Rome. Bed. L. II. c. 1. In the reign of Edgar, a law was passed, to prevent the sale of any christian unto a heathen. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 235. At the council of London, held in the time of Henry I, it was ordained, "That no one should any longer presume to carry on that nefarious trade, by which men in England were wont to be exposed to sale, like brute beasts." Ibid. p. 383. Slavery, however, with its attendant evils, prevailed for some ages longer. It appears to have received its most deadly blow during the violent struggles between the houses of York and Lancaster; when the barons on each side manumitted their slaves, in order to employ them in the wars.

The value of the monastic possessions was greatly enhanced by the *immunities* and *privileges* usually attached to them. It was no small matter to be exempted from those burdensome feudal services which the holders of land owed to their superiors; and most of the grants made to religious houses were accompanied with this immunity, or at least with some abatement of the services required. But besides those exemptions, which were the gift of private donors, our monastery enjoyed other important privileges, granted by the king, or by the archbishop.

By the charter ascribed to William the conqueror,* which appears to have been given by William Rufus, the monks of Whitby were invested with great power over their lands and homagers; and exempted "from all customs and demands, of kings, earls, barons, and lords, or their bailiffs, wherever they might go to buy or sell." By a charter of William Rufus,† two charters of Henry I,§ and the charters of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, ‖ they obtained the privileges termed *soch*, and *sach*, and *thol*, and *theam*, and *infangentheof*; together with all the liberties and immunities enjoyed by the church of St. John at Beverley, the church of St. Wilfrid at Ripon, and the church of St. Peter at York; which last

* See p. 253. The charters of Henry I. (R. f. 67. Ch. p. 92.) Stephen (Ch. p. 114.) and Richard I. (R. f. 48, 49. Ch. p. 147, 148.) refer to some charter, granted by William the conqueror: but this cannot be the charter referred to, for *the port of Whitby*, confirmed by this charter, was not granted by William de Percy till the time of William Rufus, to whom therefore it ought to be assigned. R. f. 47. † Ch. p. 58. § R. f. 50, 67. Ch. p. 66. 92. ‖ Ch. p. 115, 136, 137, 147. R. f. 47, 48, 49.

were also granted them by the charters of the archbishops Thurstan and Henry.*

The privileges of *soch, sach,* &c. were first granted by William Rufus to the church of Hackness, that place being then the chief seat of the monastery, but they were afterwards extended to the church and convent of Whitby, and likewise to their cell at the church of All Saints in York, where also they were allowed by the charter of Henry II, all the liberties, privileges, and customs which the lands and homagers of St. Peter and St. Cuthbert enjoyed in that city. The terms *soch, sach,* &c. are of Saxon origin, and have been variously defined. According to the most probable interpretation, *soch,* or *soc,* is the power of holding courts to settle disputes, or take cognizance of offences, arising within the bounds of the manor or district where it is enjoyed, including the power of summoning the tenants or vassals to attend in such courts; *sach,* or *sac,* is the power of imposing fines or forfeitures in such courts; *thol* or *tol* is the right of buying and selling, and of taking custom or toll of such as buy or sell, within the territory; and, as applied to the port of Whitby, it included the right of imposing a duty on vessels entering the harbour, and goods imported in them; *theam,* or *them,* is the privilege of having villanes, or slaves, and of disposing of them at pleasure; *infangentheof* is the power of judging thieves, or robbers, when found within the manor or territory.†

* R. f. 54, 52, 78. Ch. p. 86, 117. † Bawdwen's Domesday, *Glossary,* p. 18, 19, 20. Wilkin's Concil. I. p. 312, 313. The

The liberties of the church of St. John at Beverley, &c. are explained in the charter of Thurstan, to be *sinodus quieta, sacrum crisma, ferrum judiciale,* and *fossa;* and the last two, with their appurtenances, are mentioned also in the charter of archbishop Henry. The *sinodus quieta* is thought to have been an exemption from attending the synods, or convocations, held by the archbishop; by the grant of *sacrum crisma* the abbots had the privilege of making the *holy chrism* or anointing oil, used in extreme unction and other popish rites; the *ferrum judiciale* was the right of trying by *fire ordeal,* and the *fossa* that of trying by water ordeal; both of which were performed in various ways.*

By the royal charters referred to, the monks of Whitby held of the crown eight carucates of land at Hackness, Northfield, and Burniston, free of all taxes; and obtained a grant of the wreck of the sea at Whitby, and all the liberties belonging to a sea-port: and by the charters of the archbishops, their churches of St. Mary at Whitby, of All Saints at York, and of St. Hilda at Middleburgh, were exempted from the dues called *synodals* and *episcopal usages.* They also obtained from Henry II, and Richard I, the

explanations in these two authorities by no means coincide; I have selected from both what appears to me the most natural meaning.

* Ch. p. 87. Rapin, p. 160. The right of trying by hot iron and by water ordeal was granted to St. Wilfrid's at Ripon, by king Athelstan. Monast. I. p. 172. Possibly the *sinodus quieta,* granted to the monks of Whitby, might also include the privilege of choosing their own abbots: at least, we know that this important privilege, which they possessed, was not enjoyed by all the abbeys.

right of burgage in the town of Whitby, and the privilege of holding an annual fair there, on the feast of St. Hilda, with an assurance of the king's peace to such as resorted thither, and to all their effects, both in going and returning.

In addition to these immunities, the brethren of Whitby possessed, by royal charters from Richard I, John, and Henry III, the right of appointing their own foresters, and verdurers, and of excluding all manner of persons from hunting in their forests, or on any part of their lands: and, though Henry I, in his charter for Whitby Strand, had reserved the game to himself, that right was abandoned by king John, and others of his successors.*

The privileges of the abbots of Whitby were greatly increased by Henry VI, who granted them, the return of all writs and orders from the king or his sheriffs or other officers, to be executed in their territory, and the execution of all such writs; that they might not be disturbed by the intrusion of any bailiff, or other officer of the king;—all manner of forfeited effects of felons, or others, whose goods were confiscated within their liberty;—all found treasure; the wreck of the sea, whether lying or floating; the waif and straif [lost cattle or goods unclaimed] on their premises;—all fines and amercements;—all waste

* R. f. 48, 49, 50. Ch. p. 66, 148, 152, 218. The right of exclusive hunting in their own territory was called *frees-warren*. The same right was given to the canons of Guisbrough in their territory; besides the privileges of *sock*, *sach*, &c.; as appears from the charter of Henry VIII, formerly quoted.—In the copy of the charter of Henry III, from which Charlton made his translation (p. 218), the abbot

grounds, waste woods, deodands, and every thing else which ought to pertain to the king;—exemption from all suits of shires, cities, hundreds, wapentakes, and tithings of the king, and from all general mulcts and amercements;—power to appoint their own market-clerks, and to have their own prisons or jails;—free warren in all their lands, with such rights as their predecessors were wont to have in Pickering forest;—a right of resuming any of their privileges which had fallen into disuse;—and liberty to hold a weekly market throughout the year, as had been done from time immemorial.*

Privileges so extensive raised our abbots to the rank of powerful barons, and invested them with a kind of sovereign authority over the territory of the abbey. The right of *infangentheof*, and the privilege of having their own prisons, presented a formidable barrier to depredators who might wish to invade their property, and must have contributed greatly to the security of their possessions.

Yet I cannot subscribe to the commonly received notion, that our abbots had the power of life and death over their vassals, or over the criminals apprehended in their jurisdiction. They had power to incarcerate offenders, and to inflict punishments, not

William de Brinisto is called *Christopher*. It is easy to account for the mistake: the abbot's name has not been mentioned in the original charter, but the transcriber has changed *Christo* into *Christophero*; so that, instead of "our well beloved *in Christ*", he has made it "our well beloved *Christopher*."

* Ch. p. 267—271. The day on which the weekly market was held will be adverted to in a subsequent Chapter.

affecting life or limb; but felons, or notorious criminals, were removed from the jails of the abbots to those of the king, under custody of the sheriff, or his officers, to be tried by the justices of gaol-delivery, or the justices of assize, appointed by royal authority. There is a field adjoining to Spital-bridge, which bears the name of the *gallows-close*, where the criminals condemned by the abbot's court are supposed to have been executed; but that name most probably took its rise long after the dissolution of the monastery. The following remarks on the judicial power of our abbots, written by the late Mr. William Chapman of this place, who was born in 1713 and died at Newcastle in 1793, furnish the fact from which the name appears to have been derived, though Mr. Chapman, falling into the common error, produces that fact as a proof of the great power which the abbots exercised:

"The abbot of Whitby, whose domains were twenty miles in length and from five to seven in breadth, was almost an absolute prince. He nominated his own sheriff (to whom the high sheriff of the county directed his writs), who continues to this day to be appointed by the lord of the manor, as well as the grand jury of twelve, who are now called *burgesses*, and assist at the court-leet.* He had *haut et bas justice*, which was exercised so late as the year 1660 on two men, by the authority of the lord of the manor. The name of one of them was Lumley, but

* The appointment of *burgesses* is now laid aside; that of the *sheriff*, or rather the *high constable*, of Whitby Strand, still continues.

I have forgotten that of the other. A song was made on their death, part of which was repeated to me by an old man, who said he had the whole relation from his grandfather who was an eye-witness of the execution, which was performed in a field near Whitby, now part of the estate of my cousin Abel Chapman, and known to this day by the name of *gallows-close*. I have heard several old men say they remembered the gallows, and have been shewn by some of them the place where it stood; but there was not then any remains of it to be discovered."

This narrative clearly establishes the fact, that two men were executed at the time and place mentioned; and that fact was sufficient to give a name to the field, though no gallows had stood there before. But we must not suppose, that these offenders were condemned and executed by the authority of the lord of the manor of Whitby; much less, that this judicial power descended to him from the abbots. Sir William Cholmley, then lord of the manor, might indeed take a part in the trial of the criminals; but this could not be through any right which devolved on him as lord of Whitby, but in virtue of a special commission of *oyer and terminer*, granted to him and other justices in the North Riding. His father, the celebrated Sir Hugh Cholmley, was invested by Charles I, with a commission of this nature, before the year 1640;* and the same special commission might be given to Sir William, and other neighbouring justices, in

* Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley, Knt. and Bart. p. 61.

1660; to repress the disorders which prevailed at the restoration of Charles II. It is not even certain that the trial took place at Whitby; the culprits might be brought hither for execution from York or Malton.* In the days of feudal tyranny, the lawless barons often assumed the power of life and death over their vassals, and the crown was sometimes forced to connive at this gross abuse; yet it is not likely that this power was usurped by the abbots, whose conduct was so narrowly watched by the king and by the nobles. The right of trying by fire or water ordeal, belonged, indeed, to the spiritual dignitaries, being regarded as an immediate appeal to heaven; but, if this species of trial was ever used in cases of felony, it does not follow, that the sentence was carried into execution by the same authority that conducted the trial. It was expressly ordained, by several councils, that no clergymen should be secular judges, or ministers of justice, and that they should not even be present at criminal trials, nor take any part whatever in matters of blood; and the reasons for this prohibition apply with double force to abbots and monks.† Besides, in the *Statutes at large*, the administration of justice, in criminal cases, is uniformly claimed as the prerogative of the crown, to be exercised only by the king, or by judges holding their commission from him.§ In short,

* In the year 1793, when Wm. Atkinson was condemned at the York assizes, for taking part in a riot at Whitby, some thoughts were entertained of bringing him to Whitby for execution, to make the example more striking: had this plan been adopted we might have had another *gallows-close*. † Wilkins Concil. II. p. 4, 5, 146, &c. § 18 Edw. 3. Stat. 2. c. 2.—34 Edw. 3. c. 1.—2 Hen. 5. Stat. I. c. 4, 5. &c. It is observable, that though spiritual persons were

whether we examine the records of our abbey, the constitutions of the church, or the laws of the realm, we may be convinced that the judicial power of the abbots was circumscribed within narrow limits.

With regard to the *management* of their estates, and the various sources from whence their revenue was derived, much information is obtained from the *rolls* of their receipts and disbursements, some of which are yet extant; as well as from several of the charters and memorials in the Register. As copious extracts from the rolls will be given in the Appendix,* it will be sufficient in this place to take a general view of their economy.

A considerable portion of the lands of the abbey was kept in the hands of the monks themselves, for the support of the convent and of their servants. They

occasionally appointed justices of assize, none but laymen were employed in *gaol-delivery*, or the trial of felons. 2 Edw. 3. c. 2. Care was taken to restrain the power of spiritual courts, and of feudal lords. 13 Edw. I. Stat. I. c. 43.—9 Edw. 2. Stat. 1. c. 6—15 Ric. 2. c. 12. —16 Ric. 2. c. 2. Abbots, and other spiritual dignitaries, were liable to be summoned before the sheriff's courts; and it was deemed a privilege to be allowed attornies to appear on their behalf, instead of personal attendance. 3 Hen. 5. Stat. 2 c. 2.—15 Hen. 6. c. 7.

* Several of the most entire of the abbey rolls, to which Charlton had access, have unfortunately fallen aside. Mrs. Cholmley kindly lent me such as she could find; viz. the *compotus receptuum*, or *rent-roll*, for the half-year from Whitsunday to Martinmas 1396; the rent-roll for the year commencing at Whitsunday 1460 and ending at Whitsunday 1461, partly mutilated; and an imperfect roll of disbursements, which appears to belong to the year 1395, or 1396. Each roll consists of several pieces of parchment, about 6 inches broad, and of different lengths, tacked together with thread. The roll of expenditure, though greatly defective, is 7 feet 5 inches long, and closely written on both sides. The rent roll for 1460 is 6 feet 10 inches long, though a part of it has been lost; that for 1396 is about 4 feet and a half. In some part of these last, the outside of the roll is written upon, as well as the inside.

had in their own occupation part of their lands at Semar, at Hackness, at Fyling, at Whitby Lathes (including Lath-Garth), and at Aton and Ingleby in Cleveland; at each of which places there was an overseer *(præpositus)*, who managed their concerns, and gave in his accounts to them at stated periods. They had also their granges at Stakesby, Dunsley, and perhaps a few places more. But the greater part of their estates were occupied by tenants of various descriptions, who paid their rents twice in the year, generally at Whitsunday and at Martinmas. The rent-rolls for Whitby Strand begin at the south-east part, and end at the opposite extremity. The *soke* or liberty of Hackness yielded a large revenue; for, besides the lands which were let at Hackness itself, with the dwelling-houses, mills, and moor, the soke comprehended the farms of Broxay, Everley, Suffield, Silfhow, Dales, Langdale, and Harwood; together with the cow-gaits at Kysbeck. The Fyling-Dales district, which was next in order, included the farms of Stoupe, Thirnhow, South-Fyling, Middlewood, Thorpe, and Normanby: with the smaller farms of Hastgatrig, and Wragby, near Thirnhow; the mill, and other appendages, of South-Fyling; the small farms of Langthwait, and Carling, in North-Fyling; and the farm of Bothom, adjoining to Normanby, which seems to be that which is now called *Hawsker Bottoms*. To these succeeded the farms of Hawsker, Stainsacre, and Lairpool; with Rigcote, Cockmiln, and several tenements, gardens, &c. at Hawsker,

Whitby Lathes, Lath-Garth, and the neighbourhood. The revenues arising from Whitby itself consisted in the rents of lands belonging to it, the rents of several dwelling-houses, with the custom, toll, and burgage of the town; the whole of which in 1460 did not amount to £20 a year, and scarcely exceeded that sum in 1396. The farms of Sneton, Ugglebarnby, Sleights (including Yburn), Eskdaleside, Ruswarp, with the mill and water of the Esk, Stakesby, with its mill and appendages, Brecca, Newholm, and Dunsley, closed the list of the possessions in Whitby Strand.

Though several of the farms now enumerated were very extensive, yet the value of land was so small, or rather the value of money was so great, that none of them, even including all their appendages, produced £12 a year, except Whitby and Hackness: and the whole rental of Whitby Strand, in 1396, yielded little more than £250 *per annum*, and in 1460, it was only £203 16s. 3½d. At the same time, we must recollect, that a considerable portion of land was in the occupation of the monks themselves.

Along with the rents of the different farms in Whitby Strand, several small sums are entered under the name of *days-works*;* which appear to have been rent-services due by the tenants, which they chose rather to pay in money than in labour. These dues were of three kinds, viz. *days-works* of *ploughers*, of *mowers*, and of *reapers*.† The first included the

* Generally called *precariæ*, and sometimes *precationes*.

† *Carucantium*, *falcantium*, et *metentium*. To these may be added *precariæ circulantium*, which occurs in one instance; but I am inclined to think that *circulantium* is a mistake for *carucantium*.

services of the plough and horses (or oxen), as well as of the ploughman, and were estimated at *one shilling* each: the other two, being only the services of the individual, were reckoned at *three pence* each. And they were not under-rated at this estimation; for common labourers in that period received but *two pence* per day, and only *one penny*, if they got their meat in addition; a penny being the usual allowance for one day's provision.—From the roll of disbursements, I find that the monks paid *days-works* for some of the lands which they held, after the very same rate.

The lands which lay without the liberty of Whitby Strand were for the most part in lease: and some of the more distant farms were disposed of to other monasteries for a fixed yearly rent. Thus the the land at Bustard-Thorp was resigned to the priory of Hexham, who had other lands in that place, on their agreeing to pay an annual rent of 20 sh., out of the rent which they themselves should receive from Osbert and his heirs, who occupied that land:* and the land of the abbey at Honentun, or Huntington, near York, was let to the convent of Rievaux, who had other property there, for 6 sh. yearly:† which rents seem to have been paid regularly, from the time of the conveyances to the dissolution of the monastery. On the same principle, the church of Huntington was conveyed to our monastery by the brethren of Evesham, at an yearly rent of 10 shillings;§ and was afterwards made over by the abbot and convent to the

* R. f. 72. Ch. p. 124, 125. † R. f. 136. Ch. p. 68. § R. f. 54. Ch. p. 136.

vicars choral of York, the latter agreeing to pay 13s. 4d. *per annum* for it to the abbey of Whitby; besides the 10s. to that of Evesham.*

Several farms in Whitby Strand, and other places, were let, or conveyed, to the tenants and their heirs for ever, on condition of their paying a fixed annual rent, with the customary services. Some of them, indeed, appear to have obtained their right to those lands, previous to the grant of Whitby Strand to the monastery. This was probably the case with the Percies of Dunsley; and the same remark will apply to the family of Arundel, who had possessions at Sneaton and other parts; to that of Everley, who possessed Everley and Ugglebarnby; and perhaps also to some other homagers, who held their estates of the abbey by hereditary right. This accounts for the numerous grants of lands, as well as houses, in Whitby Strand, made to the abbot and convent, long after the whole of that territory had been given them as lords paramount. It seems, however, to have been the policy of the monks to buy in those freehold lands; and there is reason to believe that, long before the dissolution, they succeeded in obtaining the whole, either by purchase or by gift, so that not one of the families now mentioned remained within the liberty. On the other hand, they found it to their account to sell off some of their distant possessions; such as the land at Towlston near Tadcaster, their property at Yelcham and Sneileswell in the same quarter, and their possessions in Scotland; all which were alienated

* Burton's Monast. p. 73. Ch. p. 266, 267.

before the year 1396, being probably sold or exchanged, on account of the expence of attending to them: though the Scotish estates may have been forcibly seized, during the wars with king Robert Bruce.*

Next to the rent of lands, the sale of cattle, fish, hides, and wool, was one of the most productive sources of revenue. In 1396, there was received, within half a year, for wool, £37 3s. hides, about 30 sh. fish, £2 13s. 8d. and beasts, nearly £27: and, in 1460, there was received for wool, £33 16s. 2d. hides, 22s. 2d. fish, £12 11d. beasts, £67 10s. 10d. Under this last article the monks included "meat left in the kitchen;" which produced about 7 or 8£ a year.†

Such were the *temporal* revenues of the abbey. Its *spiritual* revenues also proceeded from various sources, among which the *tithes* held the most conspicuous place, and above all the tithe of fish landed in the port of Whitby. In 1396, this last article, including *net-money* and other dues, produced £52 13s. 11d. in half a year; being considerably more than the half of all the spiritual income for that period.

* Many of the writings in the Register consist of grants or leases, from the abbot and convent, obtained by their tenants. Besides the perpetual leases, or hereditary grants, there are several life-rent leases, and some leases for the term of forty years: and we learn from the rolls, that there were lands let, especially small parcels, for much shorter terms; as for 15, 10, 6, and even 3 years; and that premiums or fines *(gersumæ)* were paid at entering on the lease. † The prices of cattle appear to us exceeding low, and shew the vast disproportion between the value of money in that age, and its present value. Horses brought from 16s. to 20s. each, though in one instance we find £6 given for a riding horse for the abbot; oxen and cows, from 6s. 6d. to 10s. each; hogs, 3s. to 3s. 4d.; calves, 16d. to 20d.; sheep, 1s. to 1s. 6d.; lambs and pigs, 4d. each. Fish, at least *salt* fish, was dearer in proportion: a salt cod or ling usually sold at one shilling.

The other tithes yielded but a small sum *in money;* for, except the tithe of hay, which seems to have been always commuted, they were generally paid *in kind;* and a great part of them, instead of being sold, was retained for the use of the convent, and of their servants and dependants. The rest of the spiritual proceeds consisted in offerings, or dues, paid to the different churches; and the rents of the glebes belonging to some of them. The more distant churches generally paid a stated annual sum, or *pension*, as it was called, in lieu of all demands. The largest sum of this kind was received from Nafferton, near Driffield; being £3 6s. 8d. in one half year.*

The *annual amount* of the revenues of our abbey, both temporal and spiritual, has been variously estimated; for, indeed, it varied at different periods. At the time of the dissolution it was £505 9s. 1d., according to Speed; but only £437 2s. 9d. according to Dugdale. The difference is usually accounted for, by supposing that the former gives the gross rent, and the latter the net income, deducting pensions, and other outpayments;† but as this deduction, amounting to no less than £68 6s. 4d. seems far too great, I should rather suppose that Speed allows for the rent

* This was paid for the tithes of Nafferton. Possibly it was a whole year's pension; for I find that the church of Crossby is not in the roll for the half year in 1396, perhaps because, on account of the distance, it paid but once a year: yet the sums paid by the other churches are exactly half the annual pension. The tithes of Nafferton were granted by the Percy family, with the tithes of several places in Lincolnshire, which last appear to have been sold off, as well as the tithes of some places in the East-Riding.—That part of the roll for 1460 which contained the pensions is wanting. † Burton's Mon. p. 81.

of the lands in the occupation of the monks themselves, for which no entry was made in the *compotus*.* A variation might also be produced, if the income was stated, in the one account, according to its amount in the year of the survey (1534), and was taken, in the other, from an average of several years. During the age that immediately preceded the dissolution, the revenues of the monastery were on the decline. In 1395, as Charlton states, the neat income was £654 4s. 2½d. The temporal revenue from whitsunday to martinmas, in 1396, was £205 19s. 4d.; the spiritual revenue for the same period, £92 18s. 9d.; making together £298 18s. 1d. If the following half year produced as much, the whole income for that year would be about £600. But there is a sad defalcation in the rent-roll sixty-four years after, when the whole temporal proceeds, from whitsunday 1460 to whitsunday 1461, were only £325 2s. 8½.; and the falling off is much greater in the spiritual income, for where we find above £20 for the half-year in 1396, the amount for the whole year, in 1460–1, is less than £14; and if the remainder (which is wanting) was in proportion, the whole spiritual proceeds for that year, even supposing the pensions to be undiminished, would not reach £65; and the whole revenue for the year would be only about £390.†

* Not having an opportunity at present to consult Speed, or to ascertain his mode of computation, I give this solution merely as a conjecture. † The offerings at Whitby, in 1396, amounted to £9 17s. 4d. for half a year.; and, in 1460—1, they were only £1 6s. 10d. for the whole year! At Hackness, however, the spiritual revenue had increased.

The civil wars, which then raged with great fury, may serve to account for this vast diminution. The funds of the abbey would naturally revive on the return of peace; yet they do not appear to have ever risen to their former prosperity.

From the rolls of disbursements we find that the monks lived up to their income. In 1394, they expended £306 4s. 7d. between whitsunday and martinmas; and, between this last term and the martinmas following, the expenditure exceeded £664.* A very large proportion of this sum was laid out in procuring supplies for the kitchen: above £64 was paid for malt, which cost only 4s. per quarter; so that they appear to have used a large quantity of ale and beer. The charge for wine is only about £19; but a pipe cost them no more than £2 11s. 8d. The amount for 'servants' wages is only about £17 17s.: some received 5s. *per annum;* some 6s. 8d.; some 10s.; some of the higher servants 13s. 4d., and some 23s.: but where the wages are so high, board is generally included. Such of the lower servants as boarded themselves were allowed 10s. 7½d. for board and wages: the higher servants had more, according to their station. The pages, however, had their liveries

* Charlton (p. 269) states the amount at £664 11s. 6½d., exclusive of some debts discharged. As the amount of the roll of disbursements which I have examined is £664 8s. 2d., and some items are wanting to complete it, there is little doubt that it is the same roll which he quotes (containing the expenditure from martinmas 1394 to martinmas 1395); especially as most of his extracts are taken from it. That part which contained the beginning on the one side, and the end on the other (for the writing on the back part is reversed), must therefore have been torn off, or lost, since the publication of his work.

besides; and some others had also allowances for clothing. Several sums were laid out in travelling expenses, repairs of buildings, fuel, presents, and other items which it would be tedious to enumerate.*

In closing this review of the extensive possessions of our abbey, it may be proper to glance at the causes of those vast accumulations of monastic property, which took place between the conquest and the middle of the 13th century. Respect for the monastic character may be named as one of the primary causes. The life of the early monks was, agreeably to their profession, a life of poverty, retirement, and devotion; and to contribute to the support of persons so heavenly was therefore regarded as a meritorious service. Long after they had begun to degenerate, this favourable view of their character continued to prevail; every person who had property, and wished to be thought pious, was ready to bestow his benefaction for the encouragement of a religious life; not considering, that this profusion of wealth would eventually smother that devotion which it was intended to cherish. The notions entertained of the efficacy of their prayers, especially their prayers for the dead, operated powerfully in their behalf. No doctrine of the Romish church has been more lucrative than that of purgatory. Most of the property granted to the monks was designed to secure their prayers for the souls of the donors, or of their kindred; and, in those ages of

* The cell of Middleburgh, as will be noticed more fully in another Chapter, seems to have kept separate accounts; so that its receipts and disbursements are not included in the above calculations.

rapine and bloodshed, it was no wonder that sinners, laden with guilt, should adopt this method of appeasing their conscience, and escaping from future woe; while their spiritual guides were at pains to encourage the gainful delusion. And when the guilty father died in his iniquities, the son who inherited the fruits of his crimes, would deem it a most laudable act to contribute to the eternal salvation of his parent. Hence the multiplication of monasteries, cells, and churches; hence that abundance of wealth which was poured into the funds of the religious.

The spirit of crusading was peculiarly favourable to monastic establishments. When the romantic idea of wresting the holy land from the grasp of pagans, caught the fancy of a chivalrous age, when the *fiat* of the sovereign pontiff made the path of blood the road to heaven, when thousands flocked to the east to display their piety by gratifying their ruling passions, and to gain a passport to eternal bliss by rapine and slaughter,— it was natural to expect, that such as were seized with this mania would devote to religious uses a portion of those lands which they left behind them. To this origin may be traced the grant of the first William de Percy; for it was not till he was setting out for the holy land, that his liberality became conspicuous. This cause was aided, in that instance, by the ties of consanguinity, which, as well as the bonds of friendship, contributed at other periods to the advancement of our abbey. Serlo was William's brother; the abbot William was Alan's cousin; and in

performing an act of piety provision was made for a branch of the family. The example of the chiefs was followed by their relations and dependants; even Fulco the sewer of Alan de Percy cast in his mite into the sacred fund; and indeed this species of bounty became so fashionable that a stigma was fixed on such as neglected it.*

Various other causes concurred to swell the spiritual estates. Some of the lands of our abbey were purchased with money; and as the monks, when they husbanded their resources, were seldom at a loss for money, they were able to take advantage of the distresses of those who were in want of it. Hence a number of grants of lands were made to them, in consideration of money given to the donor "in his great necessity." Some gave their property to the monastery in the view of entering it themselves; thus securing a comfortable retreat in their old age: some bequeathed their lands to the monks for want of heirs, reserving the possession of it during their lifetime: and others bargained for an annuity to be paid them.†

Through the operation of these and similar causes, the spiritual estates rapidly accumulated; and there is no knowing what extent they would have reached, had not their progress been checked by the statute of *mortmain*.

* "Nil dedit nec confirmavit" is the remark of the monks on Richard de Percy of Dunsley. R. f. 129. † A lady called Pagan left some property in Blake Street, York, to our monastery, on condition of her receiving during life such provision as was ordinarily allowed to a monk, as also provision for one servant; and of being clothed every two years alternately, during the life of her son, who clothed her the other two; and clothed altogether by the monastery in case her son died before her. R. p. 65. Charlton (p. 94) has mistaken the meaning of this curious charter.

CHAP. X.

SECURITIES FOR THE MONASTIC POSSESSIONS—FEUDAL SERVICES GIVEN OR REQUIRED.

NEXT to the acquisition of property, the securing of what was already acquired, was an object of high importance with the monks; and various were the means adopted for that purpose. The grants made to them were executed with much solemnity. The donor usually offered up his benefaction on the altar, and deposited there, in the presence of witnesses, his staff, his knife, or some other pledge, in token of giving seizin of the estate:* the conveyance was then signed, sealed, and witnessed in due form; warranting the premises to the monks against all men and women for ever; and sometimes, for the greater

* Fulco, the son of Reynfrid, offered up his gift of lands in Tolestun by his staff on the altar. R. f. 64. Ch. p. 62. His son Robert confirmed the grant by the same ceremony. R. f. 20. Ch. p. 80. Alan Buscel offered his gift of the church of Hoton (Hutton-Bushell) on the altar of St. Peter of Wytebi by his knife. R. f. 62. Ch. p. 84. Roger de Mowbray gave seizin of the property held by Reginald Poer, by the same staff, or piece of wood, by which he himself received it. "Et ego reddidi eis et saisivi per idem lignum per quod et recepi illud." R. f. 62. Ch. p. 110. Several other instances of the same kind might be added.—This mode of confirming grants was in use before the conquest. When Edgar conferred some privileges on the church of Glastonbury, he deposited on the altar a beautiful ivory staff adorned with gold. Gul. Malmes. de G. R. Angl. L. II. c. 8. The horn of Ulphus, still preserved in York minster, was presented to confirm a valuable grant of lands to the church of St. Peter.

stability of the deed, pronouncing a blessing on all who should confirm it, and a curse on all by whom it should be infringed. Sometimes it was stated in the charter, that the donor presented the offering with his own hand;* and it was also a matter of great moment to have the deed acknowledged and confirmed by his wife, his son, or his heirs. In some cases, as in the surrender of a claim that had been revived, the deed was confirmed by an oath, sworn on the holy evangelists, or in some other manner equally impressive. The form in which Robert of Egton renounced his claim on the town of Fyling is awfully solemn. He restored and offered up the possession on the altar at Whitby, and then swore upon the altar, and upon all the holy reliques laid thereon, that he would never more (nor any one for him) claim any right in that town, and that he wholly renounced all his pretensions to it: after which, the abbot Richard, at his request, standing by the holy altar, excommunicated and anathematized all persons of whatever condition or rank, and more particularly his heirs, if ever they should attempt to alienate the premises from the Lord's table,

* This I conceive to be the meaning of a phrase in the charter of Gernagot, a canon of York, which Charlton has mistaken: instead of "*per* meipsum reddidi"—"I have surrendered *with my own hand;*" he has read "*qui* meipsum reddidi"—"*who* have returned *myself;*" and has invented a story to explain the phrase, by informing us that Gernagot had been a monk at Whitby, had absconded during the troubles about Benedict, and now "returned himself." Ch. p. 108, 109. I neglected to examine in the Register whether there is a mistake of a *q* for a *p* in the contraction for *per*, which might mislead our author: but it is clear that Gernagot, who is stiled *a canon of York*, both in his own charter and others which he witnessed at York, had not been a monk of Whitby.

or give the church of Whitby any disturbance respecting them: and then the whole assembly present, both clergy and laity, answered, Amen.*

When the grant was made by a tenant or homager, care was taken to have it confirmed, either at the time or shortly after, by the superior under whom he held; and if that superior was himself subject to some higher feudal lord, the confirmation of the latter was also requisite. After all, a royal charter was necessary to give permanent possession; nay, if churches or tithes were bestowed, the deed was not sufficiently valid without the charter of the archbishop.† To crown the whole, the pope's bull was sometimes superadded, as the highest possible sanction. Thus, by securities upon securities, the property of the monks was defended, as with a wall of triple brass, that no sacrilegious hánd might presume to touch it.

Several of the ancient monasteries supported their titles to their possessions and privileges by forged charters, pretended to have been received from Saxon kings. Fables of miracles, and lying wonders, were also resorted to, with the same view. This policy had been practised before the expiration of the Saxon period. It was not against such traitors as Edric,

* R. f. 60. Ch. p. 134. Notwithstanding this solemn renunciation, it was thought necessary to exact a similar oath from another Robert of Egton, grandson to this Robert. R. f. 43. Ch. p. 165. Whether this family had a claim on Fyling, as the heirs of Tancred the Fleming, who disposed of it to the abbot William, or whether their right to it was prior to that of Tancred, we have no means of ascertaining.
† Monks were not to receive churches without the consent of the bishops. Wilk. Con. I. p. 383.

or such monsters as Tosti, that the thunderbolts of heaven were pointed; but against the more guilty wretches who dared to violate the patrimony of St. Peter, St. Cuthbert, or St. John. The grand tendency of most of the visions, and revelations, and other miraculous phenomena of the dark ages, was to enforce the payment of tithes, to produce veneration for the shrines of the saints, to establish the lucrative doctrine of purgatory, and secure abundant offerings to the church.*

We have no proof that such tricks were employed by the monks of Whitby, but we find them very careful, in their leases, grants, and other deeds, to maintain their rights, and prevent any encroachment on their property. William earl of Albemarle held some land of them in Soureby, and lest his heirs should put in a claim to it, they exacted of him an oath and certificate, that he did not possess it by right of succession, but merely held it of them as a life estate.† John Arundel encroached on a part of their land, which he enclosed with a ditch, and they forced him to pay them 2s. yearly for the encroachment.§ In the year 1381, the inhabitants of Ugglebarnby and Yburn, broke into the abbot's enclosures in that quarter, attempting to recover by force the right of common

* The visions of Thurcillus, or Thurkil, recorded by M. Paris (p. 207, &c.) may be named as a notable specimen. His two days' journey to heaven, hell, and purgatory, is a fable, which to the monks, would be not less *profitable* than entertaining. † R. f. 21. Ch. p. 146, 141. § R. f. 21. Ch. p. 79. As the constable of Scarborough is a witness to the deed, it is not unlikely that some legal steps had been taken to obtain redress; yet Mr. Charlton goes too far, in asserting that Arundel had been "prosecuted and taken into custody."

pasturage, and other privileges which they had formerly enjoyed there, and which William de Everley, lord of the manor, had given up; but they were prosecuted in the court of king's bench, and heavy damages were recovered.*

When the convent let any of their lands to the heirs, or relations, of those who had granted those lands, great care was taken to provide that the property should fully revert to the abbey at the expiration of the lease.† The same jealousy of their rights appeared in making exchanges of land whether the exchange was made with their own homagers, or with others. Ascatine, who possessed Newholm, where he had probably been homager to Alan de Percy, received Hawsker and Normanby from the abbot William, in exchange for Newholm; and, on making the bargain, he gave two teams of oxen and a set of harrows, besides becoming bound for an annual rent of 24s. and two days' service, one of the ploughs and another of the reapers.§ Ranulf, another homager, received, from

* R. f. 6. Ch. p. 252. † As in the case of William of Cayton, who had a life-rent lease of the lands given to the abbey by his uncle Robert. R. f. 19. Ch. p. 151. Hugh de Baliol, after confirming, by his charter, to the monks of Whitby, the mill of Ingleby, and other premises formerly granted by Adam de Ingleby, obtained a life-rent lease of the mill, with the necessary provisions and restrictions. R. f. 14, 118. Ch. p. 155. § R. f. 65. This record, which is somewhat obscure, Charlton (p. 78) has greatly misunderstood. He makes "carucatas boum" to be *oxgangs of land*, and "hercatorium ingressum" he supposes to mean *a way into the hermitage;* thinking "hercatorium" a mistake for "heremitorium." But *carucata boum* is *a team of oxen:—hercatorius* or *herciatorius* may be derived from the verb *hercio—to harrow*, and *ingressus* may mean *a gang* or *set*. At the same time, it may be questioned, whether the phrase "hercatorium ingressum" means the harrows themselves, or the oxen required to draw them, or both; and perhaps a similar doubt may arise as to

the abbot Richard II, some lands in Sleights, in exchange for lands in Soureby; on which occasion, he became bound to give his homage and service for the premises, to pay 16d. yearly rent, to send a plougher and a reaper once a year, and to make as much of the *horngarth* as belonged to one oxgang of land; and further engaged not to sell or mortgage his land, without leave of the abbot and convent.*

The exaction of the *services* specified in these deeds, which were required of the tenants in general, formed one means of securing the estates of the abbey. Under the feudal system, every landholder was bound to perform *homage* and *service* for his lands. Some held their lands of the crown, but most proprietors owed feudal subjection to one or other of the great barons, or those who held under them. Several services due to the king were paid in money, as danegelt, socage, escuage, &c. Others consisted in military duty, civil employment, or manual labour; such as serving in the army, assisting in keeping the peace, attending in the king's courts, repairing castles, bridges, or highways, &c. In addition to these, there were county services, wapentake services, and several other public burdens. The services due to the king did not fall on those only who held of the king, but also on their vassals, who were bound to bear their proportion of public burdens, in addition to all the

the phrase "carucatas boum." At any rate, there was no *hermitage* either at Hawsker or Newholm. The two "precationes"—*days works*, in this charter, may perhaps mean two days service of all Aschetine's servants, and not days works of one servant only. *Precatio* seems to include more than a single *precaria*. * R. f. 42. Ch. p. 129.

feudal duties which they owed to their immediate lords. From a great part of the public services the abbies were usually exempted; and hence, to have the benefit of this exemption, several persons made over their lands to the monasteries, to receive them back again, as tenants or homagers; insomuch that it became necessary to pass an act, for putting an end to this method of injuring the public service. I do not know that any instance of this kind occurred at Whitby.

Yet no abbey was wholly exempted from feudal services and dues; and the abbot and convent of Whitby paid danegelt, and king's socage, for several parcels of land;* being the dues that were paid for such lands, before they were granted to the monastery. In general the donor of an estate presented it clear from all services due to himself, or such as were termed *foreign* services;† and left it to bear those burdens only which were imposed by an authority paramount to his own: though in some cases the benefaction was warranted free from all services and exactions whatsoever.§

* Thus they paid for their lands at Hutton-Bushell 10s. annually for king's socage. Yet the same lands were free from wapentake and shire service, and every service pertaining to the sheriff. R. f. 61, 62. Ch. p. 83, 84. Their lands in Butterwick were free of every service, except danegelt R. f. 55, 56. Ch. p. 79, 144. † *Forinsecum servitium—foreign service* is defined in an old law dictionary to be "that service whereby a mean lord holdeth over of another without the compass of his own fee; or else that which a tenant performeth, either to his own lord, or to the lord paramount, out of the fee." I should suppose that *forense servitium*, which Charlton considers as synonimous, must mean *court service*. § Robert of Irton warranted and ensured his donation of land in Irton to the convent of Whitby, against lords, and kings, and all men, in all things that could happen with regard to exactions and demands for ever. R. f. 42. Ch. p. 192.

The services imposed on homagers were often commuted; in which case, the name of the service was applied to the money paid in lieu of it: and very frequently along with this money service, or instead of it, some article of merchandise was paid as a token of feudal subjection. Thus, when Robert of Cayton sold to the monks of Whitby 3 oxgangs of land in Cayton, Durand, his brother and lord, confirmed the grant, but reserved to himself the foreign service which was wont to be paid for that land, viz. 2s. yearly and the mantel; and when a fourth oxgang was afterwards added to the grant, the foreign service was increased to 32d.; being at the rate of 8d. per oxgang.* Durand, at the same time, confirmed the grant of 2 oxgangs in Kilverdby, sold to the monks by his father-in-law, Robert Palmer; but secured the foreign service to himself and his heirs. The goods, or articles of merchandise, rendered under the name of service, varied according to the caprice of the superior. Among other things, we find a pound of pepper, half a pound of cummin, a pound of wax, a pound of incense, two pounds of incense, and a pair of scarlet garters,† paid annually for lands or tenements.

* R. f. 61, 62. Ch. p. 105, 106. In the charters referred to we find the words *the mantel* in English, in the Register;—"et the mantel, quos &c." In a similar way, "le hornegarth" occurs in some of the charters. † R. f. 63, 65, 69, 72, 121, &c. Ch. p. 109, 122, 134, 178, &c. I have not examined the words which Charlton renders "scarlet garters;" and therefore cannot vouch for the accuracy of his translation. Another phrase denoting an annual service, which occurs in the charters of Henry de Ormesby and Emma Wasthose, his wife, (R. f. 39. Ch. p. 201.) is rendered by Charlton "half of a

As exemption from such secular services was often included in grants of land to the abbey,* so this exemption was frequently made the subject of a separate grant, when the service had been reserved in the first grant. Thus, Roger de Mowbray gave up to the monks of Whitby all the foreign service, due to him for the lands in Tolestun, granted them by Fulco the sewer.† Robert de Livertun resigned 12d. service which he had been wont to receive yearly, from the monks, for a toft in Livertun.§ Thomas de Hastings released the abbot and convent, and their homagers and tenants in Crossby-Ravenswarth, from their obligation to grind their corn at his mill in Crossby, allowing them to grind it where they thought proper.‡

The services and dues demanded by the abbot and convent, from their homagers and tenants, were

soaring sparrow-hawk." He reads the original "dimidium sparveriumsorum"—*Sparverius* or rather *spervarius*, is indeed used in old charters to signify *a sparrow-hawk;* but *half* a sparrow-hawk could be of no value, unless we understand the term to mean *half the price* of one. Perhaps "dimidium spervariumsorum" may denote "half *a flight* (or *set*) of sparrow-hawks." After all, as the original word is much contracted (ꝑp'üiüsorü) and may be read various ways, it very probably has another meaning which remains to be discovered.

* William de Percy, the son of Alan, acquitted the abbey—"ab omni equitatu, et forensi servitio, et consuetudine seculari omnibus rebus"—from all horse and court service, and secular custom, in all things. R. f. 7. The *court service* seems to have consisted in the duty of attending the baronial courts, serving on juries, &c. The *equitatus*, or *horse-service*, appears to signify, the gift that was rendered by homagers to every new lord of the fee, on his accession, to provide him a palfrey, or horse; he being then obliged to contribute similar gifts to the officers of the crown. Gifts of the same kind were exacted of every new abbot, and were levied in like manner from the tenants of the monastery. Fosbrooke's Brit. Monachism, I. p. 79, 80.

† R. f. 19. Ch. p. 95. § R. f. 20. Ch. p. 133. ‡ R. f. 100. Ch. p. 207. The abbot John, and the convent of Whitby, gave a similar release to Roger of Irton. R. f. 119. Ch. p. 164.

similar to those which were required of themselves. The public burdens which were occasionally imposed by the crown, under the name of subsidies, or general aids, they laid on such as held lands of them, and even on the incumbents of churches; so that whatever share was allotted by the archbishop, or others, to the monks of Whitby, was apportioned by the latter to their homagers and dependants.* The annual and constant services rendered to the abbey consisted chiefly in *precations*, *court-service*, and the making up of *the horngarth*. These services, which have already been occasionally noticed, are specified in many of the charters and papers in the Register. Thus, Nicholas de Hastings, the homager at Broxay, in addition to an annual rent of 10s., was bound to give one day's ploughing yearly, for every plough-land in Broxay, to plough the abbot's land; and a man out of every house for one day, to reap the abbot's corn, on being summoned by the abbot's servant; and also to perform such suit and service at the abbot's court, as the said Nicholas and his ancestors had been wont to perform.† Roger Burrigan of Fyling, when he sold one oxgang of land, and other premises in Fyling, for four marks of silver, given him by the abbot and convent in his great necessity, bound himself and his heirs, to perform, out of his remaining tenement or farm, the duty and service of the horngarth, with the ploughing, the reaping, and all other services belonging to that oxgang of land.§

* R. f. 61, 90, 91. Ch. p. 106, 252, 254. † R. f. 101. Ch. p. 220, 221. § R. f. 40, 45. Ch. p. 202, 203.

William of Everley, on receiving from the abbot Richard II a grant of Ugglebarnby and Everley, agreed, in addition to his rent of 11s., to assist the abbot once in August with 16 men from Ugglebarnby, and 8 from Everley, and to make up his share of the horngarth.* When William de Percy of Dunsley was released by the abbot Benedict from feudal services, on his paying two marks yearly as the redemption of such services, the making up of the horngarth was expressly excepted.† Some other instances to the same effect have already been quoted.§

It is not necessary to say any thing more respecting the *precations*, as they have been particularly mentioned in the former Chapter; ‖ nor will it be needful to give any further explanation of the *forense servitium*, or *court service*; but the service of the *horngarth* will require to be more fully illustrated, both because it appears to have been of a peculiar kind, and because it has given rise to a curious fable.

It appears from a memorial in the Register relating to the disputes between the abbot Thomas de Malton and Alexander de Percy of Sneaton, about the year 1315, that the *horngarth* was made at the town of Whitby, with wood taken from the abbot's forest; for one subject of complaint was, that Alexander de Percy's men, when employed on this service,

* R. f. 66. Ch. p. 129. † R. f. 66. Ch. p. 96. § See p. 302, 303. ‖ Only I may here observe, that, in some charters, the *precationes*, or *precariæ*, are expressly given to the abbey by the grant of the donors. Thus Hugh Malet gave, along with other benefactions, the service which he had been used to receive yearly from Croxeby, as well for ploughers as reapers. R. f. 13. Ch. p. 123.

took too much wood out of the forest, and after making up the horngarth, sold in the town the wood that was left; in consequence of which, it was agreed, that in future the wood should be delivered to them by the abbot's servants, and that if there should be any defect in the making of the horngarth, for want of wood, the blame should not rest with Alexander's men, but with the abbot's servants. We also learn from the same memorial, that the horngarth was always made up on ascension eve, unless it happened to be the feast of St. John of Beverley.* The horngarth, therefore, must have been some garth, yard, or inclosure, fenced with wood, which the abbot's homagers and tenants, at least such as were near Whitby, were bound to repair every year; and it probably received the name *horn*garth, from their being assembled for that purpose at the blowing of a horn. What was the use of this garth it is not so easy to ascertain. Perhaps it was the abbot's coal-yard, where the coals for the monastery were delivered and laid up; or it might be, as Charlton conjectures, a kind of store-yard, where goods were landed and deposited. At any rate, we find, from the charter given by the abbot Benedict to William de Percy of Dunsley, that the service was performed at a very early period, and was probably imposed on the tenants in Whitby Strand, before the port of Whitby was granted to the abbey. It appears also, that, long before the dissolution of the monastery,

* R. f. 134, 135. Charlton in his translation of this memorial (p. 240—243.) has used some unwarrantable liberties, and at the same time made some gross blunders, as will be afterwards noticed more particularly.

the use of this garth was superseded by the erection of better yards and more substantial warehouses: yet the abbot and convent, ever jealous of their rights, still compelled such of their tenants as did not purchase an exemption, to continue this annual service, or at least the semblance of it; and thus the shadow was retained, while the substance was gone. Hence, in the course of a generation or two, the origin of this service, which then appeared useless and frivolous, began to be forgotten; and, during this ignorance respecting its design, an opportunity was furnished to the monks, or some one for them, to invent a fable on the subject, which might both account for the practice, and serve to keep it up. This singular fable is here presented to the reader:

IN the fifth year of [the reign of King] HENRY the Second, after the Conquest of *England*, by WILLIAM, Duke of *Normandy*, the Lord of *Ugglebarnby*, then called WILLIAM DE BRUCE, the Lord of *Sneaton*, called RALPH DE PIERCIE, with a Gentleman and Freeholder [of Fylingdales], called ALLATSON, did, in the Month of *October*, the 16th Day of the same Month, appoint to meet and hunt the wild Boar, in a certain Wood or Desart, called *Eskdale-Side*. The Wood or Place did belong to the Abbot of the Monastery of *Whitby*, who was called SEDMAN. Then the aforesaid Gentlemen did meet with their Boar-Staves and Hounds in the Place aforenamed, and there found a great wild Boar, and the Hounds did run him very well, near about the Chapel and Hermitage of *Eskdale-Side*, where there was a Monk of *Whitby*, who was an Hermit. The Boar being sore [wounded, and hotly] pursued, and dead-run, took in at the Chapel-Door, and there laid him down and presently died. The Hermit shut the Hounds forth of the Chapel, and kept himself within at his Meditation and Prayers, the hounds standing at Bay without. The Gentlemen in the Thick of the Wood, put behind their Game, following the Cry of their Hounds, came to the Hermitage, and found the Hounds round about the Chapel. Then came the Gentlemen to the Door of the Chapel, and called the Hermit, who did open the Door, and come forth, and within lay the Boar dead; for the which, the Gentlemen in a Fury, because their Hounds were put

from their Game, did [most violently and cruelly] run at the Hermit with their Boar-Staves, whereof he died. Then the Gentlemen, knowing and perceiving he was in Peril of Death, took Sanctuary at *Scarborough;* but at that Time the Abbot, in great Favour with the King, did remove them out of the Sanctuary, whereby they came in danger of the Law, and could not be privileged, but like to have the Severity of the Law, which was Death for Death. But the Hermit being a holy Man, and being very sick, and at the Point of Death, sent for the Abbot, and desired him to send for the Gentlemen, who had wounded him to Death. The Abbot so doing, the Gentlemen came, and the Hermit being sore sick, said, *I am sure to die of these Wounds.* The Abbot answered, *They shall die for thee.* But the Hermit said, *Not so, for I freely forgive them my Death, if they be content to be enjoyned to this Penance, for the Safeguard of their Souls.* The Gentlemen being there present, [and terrified with the fear of Death] bid him enjoyn what he would, so he saved their Lives. Then said the Hermit, 'You and yours shall hold your Lands 'of the Abbot of *Whitby*, and his Successors, in this Manner; 'That upon *Ascension-eve*, you, or some for you, shall come to the 'Wood of the *Stray-Head*, which is in *Eskdale-Side*, the same Day 'at Sun-rising, and there shall the Officer of the Abbot blow his 'horn, to the intent that you may know how to find him, and he shall 'deliver unto you WILLIAM DE BRUCE, *ten Stakes, ten Strout-Stowers*, and *ten Yedders*, to be cut by you, or those that come for 'you, with a Knife of a Penny Price; and you RALPH DE PIERCIE, 'shall take *one and twenty of each Sort*, to be cut in the same Manner; and you ALLATSON shall take *nine of each Sort*, to be cut as 'aforesaid; and to be taken on your Backs and carried to the town of 'Whitby, and so to be there before nine of the Clock of the same 'Day aforementioned. And at the Hour of nine of the Clock, (if it be 'full Sea, to cease that Service) as long as it is low Water, at nine 'of the Clock, the same Hour each of you shall set your *Stakes* at 'the Brim of the Water, each *Stake* a Yard from another, and so 'Yedder them, as with your *Yedders*, and so stake on each Side with 'your *Strout-Stowers*, that they stand *three Tides* without removing 'by the Force of the Water. Each of you shall make them in several 'Places at the Hour aforenamed, (except it be full Sea at that Hour, 'which when it shall happen to pass, that Service shall cease) and 'you shall do this Service in Remembrance that you did [most cruelly] 'slay me. And that you may the better call to God for Repentance, 'and find Mercy, and do good Works, the Officer of *Eskdale-Side* 'shall blow his Horn, *Out on you, Out on you, Out on you*, for the 'heinous Crime of you. And if you, and your Successors do refuse 'this Service, so long as it shall not be full Sea, at that Hour aforesaid, you, and yours, shall forfeit all your Lands to the Abbot [of 'Whitby], or his Successors. Thus I do intreat the Abbot, that you 'may have your Lives and Goods for this Service, and you to promise 'by your Parts in Heaven, that it shall be done by you and your

"Successors, as it is aforesaid." And the abbot said, *I grant all that you have said, and will confirm it by the Faith of an honest Man.* Then the Hermit said, *My Soul longeth for the Lord, and I do as freely forgive these Gentlemen my Death, as Christ forgave the Thief upon the Cross:* And in the Presence of the Abbot and the rest, he said, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum: [a vinculis enim mortis] redemisti me, Domine veritatis.** AMEN.

And so he yielded up the Ghost, the 18th Day of *December*, upon whose Soul God have Mercy. Amen. *Anno Domini* 1160. [1159.]†

There is something so romantic in this monkish story, that one is tempted to wish that it were true; Grose pleads strongly for its authenticity:§ but we must not please the imagination at the expense of truth; and I have no hesitation in saying, that the arguments which demonstrate the story to be fictitious are altogether incontrovertible. There never was an abbot of Whitby called *Sedman;* the name in the tale is borrowed from that of *Cedmon* the poet; but the abbot's name in the year 1159 was *Richard.* There was no Ralph de Percy, nor any other Percy, at that time lord of Sneaton; no Bruce that was lord of Ugglebarnby; nor, as far as can be discovered, any Allatson then in Fylingdales. Sneaton was then held by the family of Arundel, and Ugglebarnby by that of Everley; and in the time of the abbot Roger, the family of Burrigan made up the horngarth for Fylingdales. Above all, we are sure, from the documents above quoted, that the service of the horngarth was performed by the homagers of Dunsley, Sleights, and other parts, as well as by those of Sneaton, Ugglebarnby, and Fyling; and that it was performed long before the time of this supposed hermit. Nor can

* Psa. xxxi. 5. † From an ancient copy printed on vellum, with a few corrections and supplements taken from other copies. § Antiqu. Vol. VI. p. 92, 93.

there be a doubt that this supposed penance is a relic of the ancient service of horngarth, as it is performed on the same day, and as the following memorandum, written on an imperfect leaf at the beginning of the Register, but in a much more modern hand than the contents of the book, clearly proves their identity:

"Everie yeer the Horngarth service ys to be doone upon "Hollie Thursday evne."

"Tho. Cockrill being Bayliff to the Abbot, did meete by sonnrise the Rymeres, the Strangwayes, the Eldringtenes, and Allettsons, (who were bound to this service) in the Strye Head End by Lyttel-Beck. And the said Cock'l did see every one cutt downe with a Knyfe (he appoynting the wood) so muche as shoulde serve. From thence they cam, not the nearest way; but, brinnging them upon their backs, went a good way before they cam into the way. So commings to the water at the towne, and there maid the hedg, which should stand three tydes; and then the officer did blow, *Oute upon them.*"*

From this document we learn, that the *horngarth service* is the very same with what is now called *the planting of the penny hedge*, and that the story of the hermit existed in some shape prior to the dissolution; only the service was then performed by four families, whereas in our tale there are but three. All the homagers have long ago purchased their exemption from this service, except one family, viz. that which possesses the property of the Allatsons in Fylingdales; which continued in the family of Allatson till the year 1755, and has now for many years belonged to a family called Herbert. Mr. Robert Herbert duly performed the service on ascension-eve (May 22) in this present year, 1816. It cannot be expected that a penny, in the present day, can purchase a knife suffi-

* Charlton, (p. 131) I know not on what grounds, conceives this memorandum to have been written after the dissolution.

cient to be used on the occasion, nor is it necessary to fetch the wood from the Straybead, or to have it delivered by the bailiff; but the bailiff still attends to see the hedge planted, and the horn continues to blow *Out on them!* This part of the farce has long been acted by Nathaniel Wright, a well-known eccentric character in Whitby. The *penny-hedge* is always planted on the south side of the Esk, within high water mark,* a little below Mr. Smales's mast yard; where the ancient horngarth was probably made.†

* It required no great skill to foresee, that it would never be high water on ascension-eve at nine in the morning: for the time of ascension-day is determined by that of easter which is regulated by the moon, and the moon regulates the tides. The morning of this day was probably chosen for making the horngarth, because it was most convenient to make it up when the tide was low.

† A story so romantic could not escape the pen of a Scott. It is given in the following interesting lines:

Then Whitby's nuns exulting told,
How to their house three barons bold
Must menial service do;
While horns blow out a note of shame,
And monks cry "Fye upon your name!
In wrath, for loss of sylvan game,
Saint Hilda's priest ye slew."
"This on ascension-day, each year,
While labouring on our harbour-pier,
Must Herbert, Bruce, and Percy hear."

Marmion, Canto II. 13.

CHAP. XI.

DISPUTES AND AGREEMENTS, CONCERNING THE RIGHTS AND POSSESSIONS OF THE ABBEY.

THE numerous securities which guarded the property of the monks, were by no means sufficient to prevent disputes and litigations concerning their privileges and their estates; and a great part of the Register is occupied with the history of such disputes, and of the agreements in which they terminated.

Some of the differences between the monks and their own homagers have already been noticed; particularly, their dispute with John Arundel, who encroached on their rights by inclosing a part of the moor above Dunsley, between Buscohead and Brusegarth, for which he was compelled to make compensation; and the more serious disturbance occasioned by the men of Ugglebarnby and Yburn. In the year 1270, above a hundred years before that riot, the abbot Robert and his convent experienced some trouble in the same quarter. Alan de Everley, and Millisant his sister, then proprietors of Ugglebarnby, brought an action against them for a sufficient allowance of timber out of Yburn wood; and it was determined, before lord John de Okenton, the king's justiciary, Sir Adam de Seton, knight, and other

credible men, chosen by consent of the parties, that the abbot and convent were bound to grant Alan and his heirs a sufficient supply of timber, both for building, fencing, and fuel, but not to waste, sell, or give away, nor for the use of his cottagers or villanes, or any other besides his own family.* The Everley family afterwards relinquished their right to free pasture in Eskdale and Yburn, which had also been a subject of dispute; and they appear to have at last sold or surrendered their whole property there to the abbot and convent.† Our monks were also put to some trouble respecting their possessions at Bustard-Thorp, when Richard Basy married the widow of John Bustard their homager there, and attempted to encroach both on their privileges and those of Robert Bustard the heir; but the matter was compromised, on the abbot giving up his right to the arrears of rent then due.§

It often happened, that the monks were involved in bitter quarrels with the heirs of their benefactors, who repenting of the good deeds of their ancestors, endeavoured to recover a part of what had been alienated from the family. In these contentions, the monastery for the most part had the advantage. Roger Saunt of Thormodeby, took away a toft in that town which his father had given, but he gave another toft in exchange.‖ Anfrid de Chancy of Skirpenbeck, unjustly took from the church of Whitby fifty acres

* R. f. 6. Ch. p. 221. † R. f. 4, 5. Ch. p. 236, 237. § R. f. 73, 74, 75. Ch. p. 245, 246, 247. The curious French indentures on this subject, with the English translation of one of them, contained in the Register, will be given in the Appendix. ‖ R. f. 26. Ch. p. 186.

of land, out of an hundred which his father had granted, but he afterwards gave half a carucate and other premises in Skirpenbeck, as a compensation.* Above a hundred years after that time, Thomas de Chancy, lord of Skirpenbeck, supported his kinsman Adam de Chancy, in claiming a common right of pasturage in some land which their ancestors had given to the abbey, and which was then in culture: and an agreement was entered into, that the abbot should raise crops on that land while the adjacent fields were in culture, but should throw it into common pasture, when they were laid in pasture.† A few years after, in 1274, on the death of the rector of Skirpenbeck, this lord Thomas de Chancy had a violent quarrel with the abbot Robert, about the right of presentation to the church. Each party presented a candidate: the matter was examined before the official of the archdeaconate of the East-Riding, in a full chapter of Buckrose,§ held at Scrayingham; who reported to the archbishop in favour of the abbot of Whitby; whose claim to the right of patronage was afterwards fully made out, before the king's justiciaries at Northallerton, and was thereupon confirmed by royal authority, as well as by order of the archbishop. ‖ Michael Noreys of Skirpenbeck, had also some differences with the abbot and convent, respecting certain ways and passages, and the Chancy family

* R. f. 54. Ch. p. 120. † R. f. 122. Ch. p. 222. § A wapentake of the East-Riding. ‖ R. f. 123. Ch. p. 223, 224. William de Chancy, his descendant, in 1366, gave up to the abbot and convent all his claims on any of their premises at Skirpenbeck. R. f. 124. Ch. p. 251.

after-named,* may dig turves and pull up ling, for supplying the said places with fuel, wheresoever, whensoever, and whatsoever, they please, without hindrance from the said Alexander or his heirs, for ever. And the aforesaid Alexander may dig and pull up, in the moors of Steynsiker and Hakysgarth, (for his own private use, and not for the use of his tenants, neither in Sneton nor Katedyk,) if he pleases, what he can, and when he chooses,† without hindrance from the abbot or his people, for the supply of his own manor in Sneton only: And thus the first article was settled.

ii. *Article.* When the said abbot had inclosed about eight or nine acres of waste on the south part of Rethrig,§ the said Alexander complained, that the said close was very injurious to his men in Katedykys; especially as by reason of the said close they could not have free liberty to drive their cattle, either in taking them out to their necessary pasture or in bringing them home. At length, the abbot, considering that this complaint sprung from a root of malice, agreed, for the sake of peace, that he should obtain free egress and regress near the said close, if it was so troublesome to his tenants; which would be some compensation for the situation of the place:‖ and it was settled in that manner.

Third Article. Whereas it is contained in an indenture between the abbot and the predecessors of the said Alexander, that his aforesaid predecessors, both for themselves and their heirs, granted the abbot and convent half a mark yearly, for all the land from Scalmeryg‡ to Katewik in length, and from the old dike of the arable land of Sneton, which is called *Broad-dike,*** unto Rethryg, in breadth; together with the keeping up of the pond of their water-mill between Setholhil and Rethrig;—to such a degree did malice prevail, that, having demolished, and wantonly destroyed the aforesaid water-mill, and built a wind-mill, they wholly withdrew the said rent of half a mark, for eight years, or thereabout. At last, however, they humbly begged that they might rebuild the said mill in its former place,

* Infradictis. *This word is redundant.* † *I have here followed the original, though there is reason to suspect its correctness.* § *Now called the* Rig *or* Righill; *lying south of Rig-mill.* ‖ *This sentence, in the original, is obscure, involved, and seemingly imperfect. I have given what appears to be the most probable interpretation.* ‡ *Shalmerig is the ridge opposite Cockmill. By this clause it would appear, that the ancestors of Alexander de Percy had held Sneaton of the abbot and convent for some generations before this time: Charlton's conjecture that it was bought for this Alexander, by his father, about the year* 1300, *is therefore erroneous; unless we understand* antecessores *to mean merely his predecessors in the occupation of the lands, and not his progenitors.* ** *In the copy which I have taken from the Register, the expression is "qui latus dubicat" which last word might also be read "duvicat" or "dubitat;" the phrase might possibly be rendered "which incloses its side" or "which winds along its side;" but I strongly suspect that the true reading is* qui latus die vocat'. *Charlton (p.* 241*) has read it* qui lacus vocat'. *This document has been very incorrectly entered in the Register; in this same sentence the words in latitudine occur twice.*

and pay the said rent for ever, as had been appointed; which was granted them, and the arrears were forgiven, on condition that they should faithfully pay the said rent at the feast of St. Martin in winter [martinmas], in the year of our Lord one thousand, CCC, and sixteen.*

Fourth Article. Whereas the said Alexander's men, when making the horngarth, were often wont to take more than was necessary out of the abbot's wood, and used to sell the remainder or overplus in the town, for which they were prosecuted and fined: it was thus agreed; That the said men, receiving free delivery [of the wood] to them from the abbot's servants, should ask neither more nor less: and if a defect should be found in the making of the said horngarth, by reason of there being too little delivered, it should not be imputed to them; but such defect, if defect there should be, shall be ours, and not theirs. But, as to their often demanding a fixed day, on which the said horngarth should be made, they were answered, that it was never otherwise, but when they were legally warned; for the vigil [or eve] of our Lord's ascension was the day on which they required that it should be made, and when it was made otherwise, it was because the feast-day of St. John of Beverlac [May 7th] sometimes fell on the said vigil, on which therefore it was not made.†

Fifth Article. Whereas the said Alexander claimed, by hereditary right, a certain liberty of selling and buying in the town of Whitby, without toll; and that not only for himself but also for his men; at length this controversy was thus laid at rest; That the abbot

* *Charlton has grossly mistranslated and interpolated the concluding part of this article; but that is nothing to his strange and curious blunder respecting the new mill erected by Percy's men. The word* aurarium, *which is derived from* aura---*the wind, he conceives to be from* aurum---*gold; and thus converts the* wind-*mill into a* gold-*mill!!! Some ridiculous speculations are thereupon introduced concerning the use of this* precious *mill; p.* 243. *Our author seems resolved to shut his eyes on the meaning of* aurarium molendinum, *by overlooking the emphatic repetition of* aquaticum molendinum, *and inserting the word* corn, *which is not in the original; nay, he even interpolates his quotation from the Latin, putting in the words* loco ejus, *which are not in the Register, to convey the idea that the new mill was erected on the site of the old, whereas it is clear from the memorial that it was built in another place. The spot where the wind-mill stood was probably an eminence about a mile above Sneaton, still known by the name of the* Wind-mill-hill. *It is likely that though the water-mill, (since called Rig-mill,) was restored, the wind-mill was also retained in use; and it may be supposed to have been the first wind-mill in the district, the invention being then very recent. The first introduction of wind-mills is usually dated in* 1299; *but it would seem, from a passage in an ancient chronicle quoted by Leland, (Coll. I. p.* 181.), *that they were in use some years earlier; for we there learn, that when king Edward I, in* 1297 *or* 1298, *was riding within the battlements of Winchelsey, his horse was frightened with the noise of a wind-mill* (strepitu ventimolæ) *and he narrowly escaped being thrown over the ramparts. Of course the new machine would receive various names, and we need not wonder to find it called by our monks* aurarium molendinum, *while others called it* ventimola. † *Here again the memorial is perplexed and incorrect, and Charlton has made it worse by mistaking* certum diem *for* tertium diem, *as well as by mixing it up with his wonted supplements.*

allow him to get a measure or bushel made for himself, of the true quantity, and bring it to his bailiff, who shall mark the said bushel with the abbot's mark; it having been examined and approved: which bushel the said Alexander may commit to the custody of the market-clerk, and if he shall happen to sell corn which has grown on his own land of the manor of Sneton he shall not pay toll or custom, or, if he buy any at the port for the support of himself and his manor he shall be exempted; but if he sell there what was bought elsewhere, or sell elsewhere what was bought there, he shall not be free from the aforesaid custom. In the same manner, his tenants of Sneton, if they buy there for their own support by the said bushel-measure, shall also pay no toll; but if they shall sell elsewhere, or shall be convicted of having sold, or shall buy and bring to Whiteby for sale any other than their own corn, belonging to or growing on the manor of Sneton, in these cases they shall not be free, but shall pay toll as others from the country. But, in regard to what they demanded to be done, concerning the beasts of the men of Sneton, sold in the said town of Sneton, to that the said abbot does not consent.

Sixth Article. The said Alexander also asked for himself and his men, that they might cut fern in the parts of Yburn, and on its side, without hindrance; which, however, was neither denied nor granted them, but they were to be permitted according as they conducted themselves; so that if they behaved well, they should be allowed, but if otherwise, the reverse.

Seventh Article. The same Alexander demanded fealty or service as due from the abbot for certain lands in Sneton field: to which answer was made; 'That we obtained no lands by the gift of his predecessors but such as were clear and free.' When he would not believe us, we produced our writings; and, while they still hesitated as to some particulars, demanding more certain records, and pretending that those writings were forged, we satisfied them by this reply, 'That it was very difficult to find all the records so quickly'; and the matter was deferred to another time.

Eighth Article. Whereas our foresters always prohibited the messonary of the said Alexander, or the keeper of his woods, from carrying bow and arrows, often taking them from him, and sometimes prosecuting him; asserting that he ought not to be called a *forester*, but a *wood-ward:* it was at length so settled.*

This memorial is valuable, not only as it furnishes a sufficient specimen of the quarrels which arose between the abbot and his homagers, but also as it throws much light on the service of the horngarth, and other matters connected with the history of our abbey.

* *R. f.* 134, 135.

But our monastery had to contend more frequently with spiritual brethren, than with homagers, or temporal neighbours. There were many debates between the monks and those ministers who supplied the churches under their patronage. In 1328, Mr. Robert de Heslerton, rector of Kirkby in Cleveland, had withheld for five years the annual pension of 66s. 8d. due from that church to the abbot and convent; who therefore prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical court of York, where sentence was given against him, and he was condemned to pay the expences of the prosecution.* The rector of Skirpenbeck seems to have made a similar attempt; for in 1385, the abbot and convent required Mr. William de Fereby, the new incumbent, to acknowledge, by a solemn public instrument, his obligation to pay them the usual yearly pension of one mark.† The ministers of Semar had frequent squabbles with their patrons. Mr. Walter de Gray, the rector, attempted to withdraw, or diminish, the annual payment due to the monastery; and in 1246 he was cited before the judge-delegates of the pope, at Lincoln, and compelled to give bond for the annual payment of a pension of five marks, and three marks more for the tithes of corn. About twenty years after, he renewed his attempts, for which the abbot and convent resolved to remove him from the living; but, the matter being brought into the ecclesiastical court of York, in 1269, the disputes terminated in his giving a fresh bond for the annual

* R. f. 81. Ch. p. 243. † R. f. 124. Ch. p. 254, 255.

payments with all arrears, and in their agreeing to drop the action commenced for his removal.* In the year 1378, Mr. Robert de Segbroke, then vicar of Semar, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, for refusing to pay his share of the royal subsidy imposed at that time on the clergy; the vicar being bound to pay one fourth of every subsidy imposed on that church: the cause went against him, yet he was not required to pay all the expences. Five years after, he was again prosecuted for refusing to pay an ordinary subsidy of four marks, demanded by the archbishop; and the issue of the process was the same.†

The abbot and convent had also some fierce debates about tithes, with the rectors of churches adjoining to their possessions. The rector of Stokesley, on more than one occasion, attempted to take from them the moiety of the tithes of Tameton, which they were wont to enjoy, insisting that that lordship was in Stokesley parish; but when the cause was tried before the official of the archdeacon of Cleveland, their right to the moiety was made good, as it was proved, that the pastures of Tameton were in their parish of Ayton, though the manor-house was in that of Stokesley.§ They had a similar quarrel with the rector of Foxholes; but the record on that subject is left unfinished. ‖ The worst affair of this kind that we read of, was the combat maintained against the rector of Lyth, supported in his unjust pretensions by the influence of the Mauley family. The third Peter de

* R. f. 88, 89. Ch. p. 204, 205. † R. f. 90, 91. Ch. p. 251, 252, 254. § R, f. 75. Ch. p. 179. ‖ R. f. 125. Ch. p. 224.

Mauley, lord of Mulgrave and Egton, wished to annex to his manor all that part of Whitby Strand which lies on the north-west side of the Esk. As a preliminary step, Mr. John of Tocotes, rector of Lyth, demanded the tithes of Ruswarp, Aislaby, Newholm, Dunsley, Stakesby, and other places in that territory, which he claimed as belonging to his rectory; and when the inhabitants refused to comply, he seized the tithes with an armed force, in August, 1280; but, on the complaint of the convent, he was soon after obliged by the archbishop to make restitution. He did not, however, desist from his attempts, but commenced an action against the abbot and convent, not only claiming those tithes, but even the church of St. Mary at Whitby, which he pretended was an appendage to his church! Worsted in this action, the rector appealed to Rome, hoping that he might finally succeed, by dint of the money and influence of Mauley. Judge-delegates, appointed by his holiness, met in 1283, to investigate the affair.* Many witnesses were called on behalf of the monastery,† who were separately examined, and all concurred in deposing, "That Thordesay Beck which issued out of Mulgrave Park,

* The place of meeting is not named; but it appears to have been at or near Whitby. I have not seen the rolls relating to this trial which Charlton examined. † Geoffrey Penoc of Whitby, aged 49 years; Andrew Scott, priest of St. Mary's at Whitby, aged 50 years; Lawrence, a blacksmith in Whitby, aged 80 years; John Hersand of Whitby, aged 60 years; Peter of Lincoln, aged 50 years; John of Everley, aged 60 years; Alexander of Cotom, aged 41 years; Thomas, Chaplain of Hackness, aged 60 years; Moses of Whitby, aged more than 100 years, being the oldest man in Whitby Strand; Robert the son of Walter of Whitby, aged 60 years; and Henry the son of Alan of Whitby, aged also 60 years.

was the western limit of Whitby parish; that the boundary went from thence to Merhoue, near the corner of the horsecroft; from thence to Swarthoue cross, and from thence right down Brocholey Beck to the river Eske: That it was public, notorious, and manifest to all those who lived in Whitby Strand, that the church of St. Mary at Whitby had from time immemorial, and as they verily believed from its first foundation, belonged to the abbot and convent of Whitby; who, in right thereof, had ever received tithes from all those places which were now claimed by John of Tocotes and lord Peter de Malo-lacu." On the other hand, the rector's witnesses swore positively, "That the manor of Mulgrave extended to the river Eske." In support of this position, they alleged, "That, some ages before, William Fossard, then lord of that manor, mortgaged the premises in dispute to the abbot and convent of Whitby; who, by means of that mortgage, had fraudulently got possession."* To disprove this bold assertion, more witnesses were adduced on behalf of the monastery,† who all swore positively, "That the premises now in dispute were the freehold of Percy, and, as they verily believed,

* This impudent falsehood might receive some countenance from its being known that William Fossard was a benefactor to the abbey. He confirmed a carucate of land in Rousby, granted by his father; and a carucate in Buterwic, given by Durand. R. f. 17. Ch. p. 92.

† A witness aged 75 years; another aged 60 years; Robert Theules of Whitby, aged 50 years; John de Lamb of Ryswarp, aged 40 years; William, son of John of Risewarp, aged 50 years; Ralph, son of Alan of Sneton, aged 30 years; Adam of Harewud, in Whitby Strand, aged 30 years; Astine, a monk at Whitby of nineteen years standing; William, son of Osbern of Dunseley, aged 40 years; and Geoffrey of Hakenes, aged 48 years.

were given to Whitby abbey by the first William de Percy and his son Alan; and that they had never heard it so much as surmised before, that they were at any time mortgaged to the abbot and convent of Whitby, by William Fossard or any other that possessed the manor of Mulgrave, seeing the charters and records, in possession of the said abbot and convent, bore direct witness to the contrary."—After these depositions were taken, and the matter fully investigated, the cause, it appears, was remitted to the court of Rome, who finally decided in favour of the abbey, and condemned lord Mauley and his rector to pay the expenses of the law-suit.*

Several contests also arose, between the brethren of Whitby and those monasteries whose premises were contiguous to theirs. They differed with the prior and canons of Guisborough, in the time of the abbot Nicholas, respecting the tithes and parish dues of twelve carucates of land, in the territory of the church of Middleburgh, which church had been given to our monks by Robert de Brus: the canons alleging that the whole belonged to them, in right of their church

* Ch. p. 226, 227. This iniquitous attack on their property was attended with great expense to the monks; for in the Roll of expenditure, for 1394—5, is this entry, "Item in expn. c'ca causam inter nos et Rectorem de Lyth - - -xliiii. *li.* xiii *s.* vii. *d.*" So that the trial cost them near £45, though their adversaries were condemned to pay the expenses. Perhaps this sum had been expended in *purchasing justice* from the venal court of Rome, whom Mauley, it is likely, attempted to bribe, as he could scarcely hope to succeed by any other means. It also appears, by this article, that the final decision was delayed till eleven years after the examination now related; unless we suppose that the rector and his patron had renewed their infamous proceedings.

of Stainton, to which the church or chapel of Middleburgh had been an appendage. Robert de Brus, their common benefactor, was chosen umpire between the contending parties; and it was agreed, that the canons should receive the tithes and dues of six of the carucates; and that the monks should receive the tithes and dues of the other six, as belonging to their church of Middleburgh, which should henceforth be a mother church, not dependant on Stainton: the monks, at the same time, giving up to the canons whatever they might claim in any of their parishes, as the gift of Hugh earl of Chester.* About a century after, the abbot and convent sold the tithes of Upplium and Mersc, to the prior and canons, for ten quarters of good wheat, to be delivered yearly at Whitsuntide, in Arusum or in Mersc.†

Our monks had more than one contest with the priory of Bridlington. In the time of William, the first abbot, some differences took place between him and Wicheman, then prior of Bridlington, respecting the tithe of fish, exacted from the fishermen; and it was agreed, that the fishermen of Whitby when they landed their fish at Filey, should pay their tithes there; and that the fishermen of Filey should, in like manner, pay tithe at Whitby, when they landed their fish at that port.§ This regulation was altered about eighty years after, when Hugh the prior renewed the controversy with the abbot Peter, and the pope's

* R. f. 68 Ch. p. 91. † R. f. 21. Ch. p. 193, 194. In the *compotus* for 1460—1, this annual rent is entered in money; being the price of 10 quarters of wheat. § R. f. 126. Ch. p. 77.

commissioners* decided, that the Filey fishermen should no longer pay tithe at Whitby; and we can have little doubt that the Whitby fishermen were also to be exempted at Filey.† In the year 1231, which was forty years later, some disputes were settled between the abbot Roger and Thomas prior of Bridlington, respecting the right of pasturage on the commons adjoining to some of their possessions which came in contact: when it was agreed, that the prior should renounce all claim to common pasturage in Hakenes, Silfhoue, and Suthfeld, as pertaining to his freehold in Scalleby, Briningeston, and Clocton; and that the abbot should grant him common right of pasturage, from the prior's cow-pasture§ in Haiburn, as far as Kesebec and Hellewath, for fifty cows with their young under three years; reserving to the abbot his closes, intakes, and meadows, inclosed before that date, and a right to inclose 500 acres more: the abbot also granting the prior a right to graze twenty mares, with their foals under three years, in the said pasture and beyond it; at the same time retaining to himself the right of inclosing any part of the pasture, from Kesebec and Hellewath to Mirch-Esk and Lithebec.

* Ernald, abbot of Rieval; William, prior of Kirkham; and Iyo, prior of Wartre. Burton's Monast. p. 226. † Charlton, who dresses up this subject according to his fancy (p. 77, 148, 149.), supposes that by the first regulation the abbot sustained great loss; but there is reason to believe, that the loss was on the other side, else the prior would not have made any complaint. The Filey boats were perhaps more numerous than those of Whitby; or possibly they might resort more to Whitby than the boats of our port did to Filey, for the sake of better fishing ground. § *Vaccharia* sometimes signifies *cow-house;* but in our records it more frequently denotes *cow-gait* or *cow-pasture.*

For these grants the prior was to pay yearly one pound of wax and one pound of frankincense.*

During the time of the abbot Peter, there was a quarrel with Ciprian, prior of Sixchle or Sixhill, in Lincolnshire, and his convent, respecting the corn-tithes of Ludeford, which along with other tithes in Lincolnshire had been given to our abbey by the first William de Percy; in consequence of which, the abbot and convent sold the tithes of that lordship to the priory of Sixhill, for an yearly pension of one mark.†

The abbey of Rievaux was generally on very good terms with the brethren of Whitby, and held some lands of them at Huntington, and at Cayton, for an annual rent; but, in the year 1227, the abbot Roger of Whitby, entered an action against Roger abbot of Rievaux, for an encroachment on some of the lands at Cayton; and the abbot of Rievaux became bound to inclose no more of the lands belonging to our monks, without their permission.§

The abbot and convent of Melsa, or Meaux, in Holderness, rented a house in Fishergate, York, belonging to our abbey, at 5s. yearly; but, about the year 1348, they had fallen into arrears, and perhaps wished to claim the house as their own. A prosecution ensued, which terminated in an agreement, by which the brethren of Melsa became bound to pay their rent duly, and gave liberty to distrain on their

* R. f. 69. Ch. p. 177, 178. † R. f. 70. Ch. p. 150. This pension was not paid in 1396; at least not at the stated time, St. Barnabas' day. § R. f. 29, 136. Ch. p. 179.

premises, in case of non-payment; but our abbot and convent consented to forgive them all arrears.*

In the parish of Crossby-Ravenswarth there was a chapel at Revegil, belonging to the monks of Hepp, or Shapp. The latter having withheld the tithes and dues of that chapel from the mother church, an action was brought against them by our abbey; and it was determined by the judge-delegates of the pope, that the abbey of Shapp, besides the accustomed dues rendered to the mother church of Crossby, should pay annually six skepfuls† of merchantable oatmeal, as tithes for the lands which they occupied in that parish; but that, if they should cultivate any more land there, it should be tithe-free, so long as they held it in their own hands. To confirm this agreement, the two abbots took an oath on the holy evangelists.§

A dispute arose in the same quarter, 85 years after, (A. D. 1310) when our monastery claimed the tithes and dues of the church or chapel of Overton, belonging to the priory of Coningshed in Lancashire; alleging that Overton, with all its appendages, formed a part of their parish of Crossby. In this contest, our monks appear to have been the aggressors, and they were completely defeated. To avoid "the litigious and uncertain windings of the law," both parties submitted the case to the arbitration of William and Robert de Pickeryng, canons of York, and John,

* R. f. 76. Ch. p. 248. † *Skeppas=quarters*, according to Charlton, but I suspect that *skeppa* is a smaller quantity. § R. f. 69. Ch. p. 170. The judge-delegates were, the prior and chanter of Guisborough, and the dean of Cleveland.

prior of Bolton in Craven; who, having met at York, decided against the claims of Whitby abbey; finding, that the church of Overton had no dependance on that of Crossby, and that the tithes and dues wholly belonged to the priory of Coningshed: upon which the parties submitted to the sentence, and became bound to live in peace.*

Our abbey had some controversies with spiritual *sisters*, as well as with brethren; for *monks* could not be expected to have so much gallantry as to give up any of their privileges to *nuns*. The prior Roger prosecuted Susanna prioress of Basedale (or Baysdale), for the corn-tithes of Ingleflat and Plumtreflat, in the territory of Nunthorp, and the tithes of the mill which the nuns had in Nunthorp, and of a meadow in the same territory; which tithes were claimed as belonging to the parish church of Ayton in Cleveland. The chapter of Cleveland, with Serlo their archdeacon, in giving judgment in this affair, granted our abbot the half of his demands; assigning to the church of Ayton the corn-tithes of Ingleflat, with the tithes of the mill of Nunthorp; but securing to Susanna and her nuns, the tithes of Plumtreflat and of the meadow.†

Finally, the abbots of Whitby had contests with their superiors, the archbishops and bishops, as well as with their brethren and neighbours. These contests, like many that have been named, proceeded from that endless source of litigation—tithes. The archbishop exacted his proportion of tithes from the

* R. f. 97, 98, 104. Ch. p. 233—236. † R. f. 75. Ch. p. 178.

property of the monasteries, even as from other possessions in his diocese; with this difference, that the lands which the monks held in their own hands, were exempted; as appears from a bull of pope Honorius III, issued in the year 1225. On this subject some disputes arose above twenty years after, when the master and brotherhood of the hospital of St. Peter's at York, who then received the archbishop's tithes paid for Whitby Strand, raised an action against the abbot and convent, before the precentor of Huntington, judge-delegate of the pope. The controversy ended in an agreement, That the monks should pay no tithes for their lands which they then cultivated, or might hereafter clear and cultivate; but that the lands occupied by their homagers and other tenants, should have no such exemption: it being understood, that if the abbot and convent chose to take into their own hands any of the last-mentioned lands, they should then pay no tithes for them, and on the other hand, if they should let any of the lands then in their occupation, such lands should no longer be exempted; and if they should take to farm, or get into their possession, any lands that had hitherto paid corn-tithes to the master and brotherhood, such tithes, or some compensation for them, should continue to be paid. At the same time, the abbot and convent, in consideration of their exemption from tithes, agreed to pay yearly three thousand good herrings, to be delivered at Thornton in the vale of Pickering.*

* R. f. 32, 67, 77. Ch. p. 171, 206, 207. The 3000 herrings, viz. 1500 red and 1500 white, continue to be paid to the archbishop,

But this contest with the archbishop, or rather with the hospital of St. Peter's, was nothing to that which our monastery had with the bishop of Carlisle and his court, respecting the tithes and privileges of the church of Crossby-Ravenswarth. This was the most tremendous conflict in which our monks engaged. Thorphine, who gave them the church of Crossby, had better have levelled it with the ground, or devoted it to some other use; for it proved a bone of contention, for many years, not only between them and his heirs, but especially between them and the clergy of Carlisle, and occasioned the most serious troubles and bitter animosities. The court of Carlisle seems to have viewed the possessions of Whitby abbey in that diocese with a jealous eye, and the bishops and our abbots were not always on friendly terms; but it was in the year 1262 that the dreadful commotion began, which agitated for some years both the bishopric and the monastery. About that time Richard de Yrston vicar of Crossby died, and William de Foston was presented to the living by the abbot and convent; on his giving them a bond for the annual pension of 20s. paid by that church, and resigning a pension to the same amount which for some consideration he had hitherto received of them, and at the same time

and are delivered at his palace of Bishopthorpe near York. He also receives yearly, as a composition for the tithe of fish, taken at Whitby and Robin Hood's Bay, 100 good stock-fish, or 26s. 8d. in money; 200 dried cod and ling of the best sort, delivered at Michaelmas; and four loads of fresh fish of the best and largest packing, viz. two loads in each of the assize weeks.—The regulation concerning the tithes of land still continues, that land which was in the occupation of the monks at the time of the dissolution being now tithe-free.

acquitting them of all other demands. Soon after this, Robert, bishop of Carlisle, or his official, and his archdeacon, resolved to augment the rate of tithes on wool and lambs, paid to the bishop by that church. As this would have materially diminished the income of Foston, whose salary arose entirely from the tithes and dues, he strenuously resisted the augmentation.* But the archdeacon and the official refused to give way; and finding Foston refractory, they determined to expel him from the living of Crossby, which they gave to William de Sevenake, a clergyman from Kent, who was willing to submit to the proposed augmentation. This violent measure drew strong complaints, not only from Foston, but from the abbot and convent, his patrons, on whose rights the church of Carlisle thus attempted to trample. They considered Sevenake as an intruder, whom they would not receive into their church, and resolved to support Foston in retaining possession of his living. Unfortunately for them, one of their adversaries, Michael de Hampstede, archdeacon of Carlisle, was a judge-delegate of the pope; having obtained his commission, it would seem, for this very occasion. Before him appeared, in the beginning of June,

* I am surprised that Charlton should ascribe the augmentation to Foston himself, in direct contradiction to the documents which he produces, where it is uniformly attributed to the bishop's official and the archdeacon. Foston had sufficient funds from the tithes and dues of Crossby, both to support himself and pay the pension and other burdens, had no new and unexpected burden been laid on his parish. Our author by his mistakes and fanciful supplements has given a most distorted view of this controversy; and I fear that some of his mistakes remain to be detected, as I did not fully examine the original records.

1262, William de Sevenake for himself, and Astun of Thornton as proctor for the abbot and convent; when after some preliminary steps, the cause was deferred for about three weeks, to give some time for preparing answers; and when the business was resumed on the day appointed, the decision, as might be expected, was in favour of Sevenake. Foston and the monks, however, found means, by appeal or otherwise, to obtain a new trial before the official of York, who reversed the sentence; but, by a counterplot on the part of the bishop of Carlisle, his archdeacon set aside the sentence and established the former decision. On this, Foston, who complained that the archdeacon had condemned him in his absence, when he had not been legally cited, appealed to the pope; and repairing to Italy, lodged his appeal in the papal court, on the 5th of December, at Beneventum,* the pope being then absent from Rome, during the wars between the Guelphs and Gibellines. What steps were then taken by the other party, cannot be ascertained; but we find, that in the following summer the archdeacon of Carlisle, again invested with apostolic authority, delegated his power to the subchantor of Carlisle and the master of the robes, to decide in this cause; and they having of course

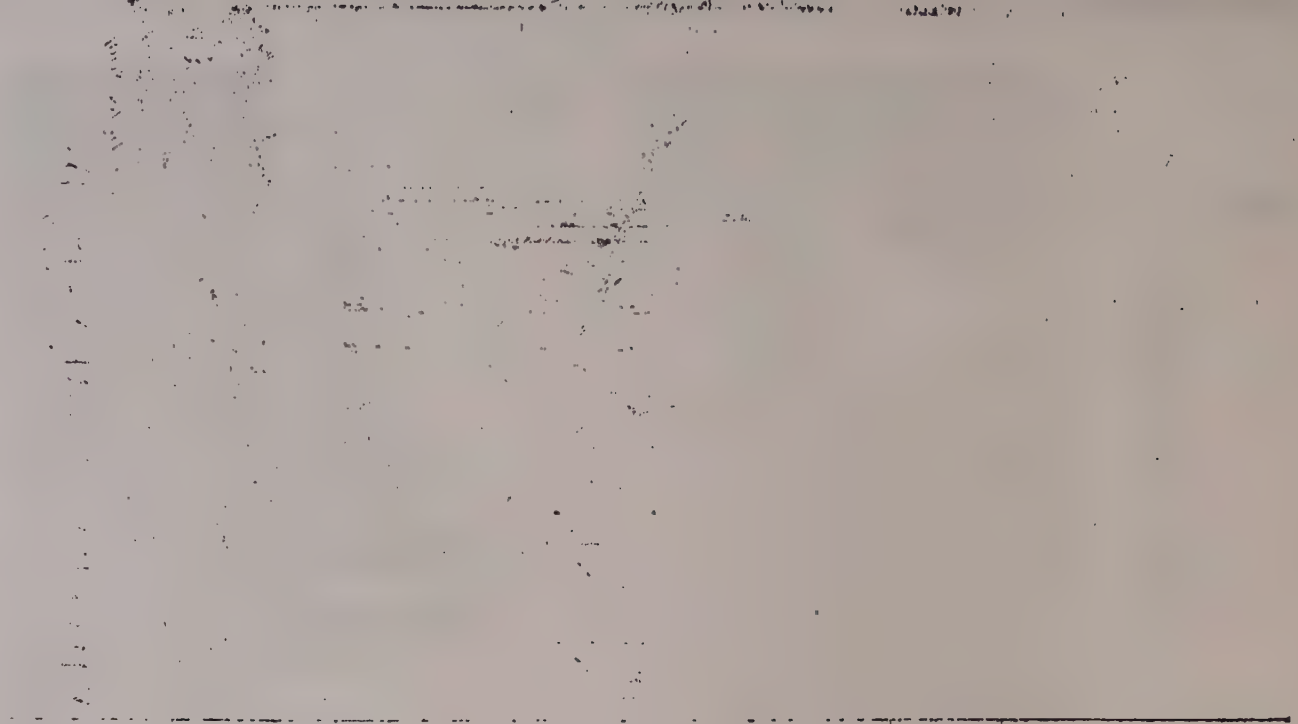
* From the deed relating to this transaction, executed by James Tandem of Podioboizen, judge and notary public of the Roman church, whose mark (a species of cross) is figured in the margin of the Register (f. 110), of which an imitation is given in Charlton p. 211,—it would appear, that William de Sevenake, or de Kent, was also called William Fresell, and that he was formerly official of Carlisle; having perhaps resigned that office for a time, for the purpose of engaging in this contest. The acting official was Thomas de Foneis.

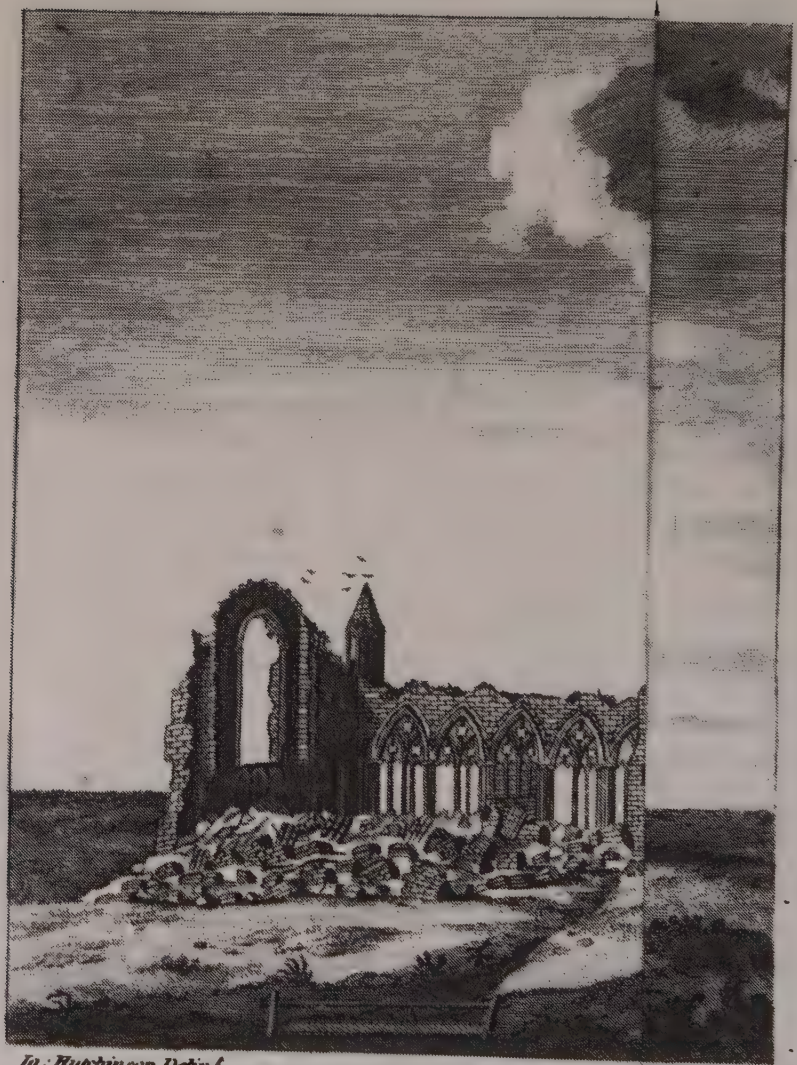
rejected the claims of the abbot and convent, the latter appealed from their sentence to the pope. This appeal was made on the tuesday next after the translation of St. Thomas the martyr (July 3.) A. D. 1263; and the appeal being allowed, the 29th day of October in the same year was fixed as the day when the parties should appear at the court of Rome. On that day, William de Sevenake personally appeared at the papal court; but the Whitby commissioners,* having got the start of him, had obtained, seven weeks before, apostolic letters to the archdeacons of Carlisle and the East-Riding, in favour of the abbey. New judge-delegates† were appointed to take cognizance of the affair, who having met at Ripon in the beginning of May 1264, reversed the decision given at Carlisle, set aside the augmentation of the tithes of Crossby as unjust, and excommunicated all who should oppose the execution of their sentence. Adam de Waythamsted, whom the Carlisle party had appointed chaplain, or curate,§ of Crossby, did not come under this sentence, having previously resigned his right to the abbot and convent; but it fell heavy on Sevenake, the vicar, who was condemned to pay the expenses of the law-suit, and, who, refusing

* Their proctor Astin seems to have appeared for them at the court of Rome. Charlton, not attending to the dates of the several transactions, confounds this appeal with that which Foston presented in December 1262, which was nine months earlier. Perhaps Foston was also one of the commissioners in this second appeal. † R. archdeacon of Durham, the prior of Kirkham, and Hugh de Rotherham, a canon of Ripon. None of the three attended personally at the meeting of the court; for Hugh appointed the master of the hospital at Ripon his substitute, the prior delegated his powers to the dean of Ripon, and the archdeacon was excused from attending. § It would seem, from some things relating to this controversy, that Crossby had a chaplain or curate, as well as a vicar; and that this Adam was not a mere *locum-tenens* for Sevenake during his absence.

to submit, was formally excommunicated. The court of Carlisle, however, were not long subjected to this mortification; fresh letters apostolical were procured from Rome, where all things were venal, and where the pretence to infallibility was miserably kept up; a new judge-delegate was appointed;* the cause was again tried at Carlisle, on the 27th of October, 1264; the letters apostolical obtained by the abbey were pronounced null and void, as having been surreptitiously procured, and all the proceedings held under their authority were disannulled. The Whitby party refused to yield, hoping for redress once more at the papal court; but they were completely disappointed; for, in February 1265,† the official, Thomas de Foneis, invested with authority as judge-delegate, excommunicated the abbot, prior, &c. of Whitby; the vicar William de Foston; and their agents, the dean of Cleveland, and Astin of Thornton; and summoned the abbot and convent to appear at Carlisle in the end of that month. The latter still resisted, and by means of their dependants at Crossby, kept possession of that church by main force; so that the dean of Westmoreland was compelled to publish the sentence of excommunication at Appelby, instead of Crossby. How the terrible conflict ended, does not appear from our records; but, if our abbey yielded at this time, they recovered their right from bishop Ralph in 1280.§

* The prior of Bredon in Leicestershire, who delegated his powers to Robert, rector of Dalston in Cumberland. † It is 1264 in the records; for at that time, and for many ages after, the new year did not begin till Lady-day. § R. f. 94, 108—114. Ch. p. 208—217. These disputes have been related the more fully, as they exhibit a faithful picture of the deplorable state of religion in that age.





Ja: Hutchinson Delin! *Taylor Sculp!*

THE SOUTH EAST

CHAP. XII.

BUILDINGS OF THE MONASTERY; CELLS, HERMITAGES, HOSPITALS, CHURCHES, AND CHAPELS, BELONGING TO IT.

IN the days of the abbesses Hilda and Ælfleda, our monastery was furnished with appropriate and extensive offices; and it is probable, that the buildings erected after the conquest, equalled them in extent, while they greatly exceeded them in splendour. Of these buildings, however, little can be said; for they have all been demolished except the church.

The church of the abbey, of which a considerable portion yet remains, has been a magnificent structure, of the cruciform shape, extending above 300 feet from east to west, and above 150 feet from south to north.* It probably stands on the site of the Saxon

* The dimensions of the abbey church are as follows. Outside: Length—from the western extremity to the buttresses of the transept—140 feet: across the transept (buttresses included)—65 feet:—from thence to the eastern extremity—105 feet:—total length without—310 feet. Breadth—from the extremity of the north transept to the north buttresses of the choir—38 feet: across the choir (buttresses included)—77 feet:—and, if the south transept, which is gone, was equal to the north, the total breadth, on the outside, must have been—153 feet.—Inside: Length—from the west gate to the central tower, being the extent of the nave—137 feet: across the tower, including half the diameter of the pillars on each side—33 feet, 6 inches: from thence to the east end of the choir—116 feet: total length within—286 feet, 6 inches. Breadth of the body of the choir, including half the thickness of the pillars on each side—33 feet, 8 inches: breadth of the aisle on the north side of the choir—14 feet, 4 inches: so that, if the south aisle corresponded with the north, the whole breadth of the choir within was 62 feet, 4 inches. The breadth of the nave and its aisles cannot be so exactly given, the pillars, as well as the south wall, having all fallen; but their dimensions were probably the same

church, belonging to the monastery before the conquest; but no vestige of that church now remains, nor even of the church that was first erected after the revival of the establishment. Like most of the large ancient churches in the kingdom, it has been built at various periods, and exhibits the Gothic architecture in its progressive stages. The eastern part, or choir, is obviously the oldest, as appears from the plainness of the workmanship, and from the lancet windows, finished with nail-head and zigzag mouldings, in the early Gothic or Norman style. This part of the church was probably built by Richard de Burgh, who was abbot from 1148 to 1175, and is famed for the buildings which he reared. He rebuilt the chapter-house, and very likely the church also.* The lower part of the tower, and most of the pillars, which are all of the clustered kind, were perhaps erected at the same period.† The north transept, and the upper part of the tower, belong to a later era; for though, in the

with those of the choir and its aisles. The north transept measures, from its north wall to the inside of the north wall of the choir—37 feet, 8 inches; and, if the opposite transept was of the same extent, the extreme breadth within, from the north wall of the one transept to the south wall of the other, must have been—137 feet, 8 inches. The breadth of the body of the north transept is—30 feet, 4 inches; its aisle, which is on the east side,—14 feet, 8 inches;—total breadth—45 feet. Each of the four pillars of the tower is 25 feet, 4 inches, in circumference; each of the other pillars—15 feet, 4 inches. Each of the four large arches of the tower—about 60 feet high, which is also the height of the walls: the total height of the tower—104 feet. Breadth of the great west gate—9 feet, 6 inches, which is about half its height. The west front has extended about 84 feet, including the buttresses, which project 8 feet. The buttresses of the choir project 5 feet 3 inches.

* See p. 262, 263. † The pillars have been 34 in number, besides the half pillars projecting from the wall to support the furthest arches. There are 4 pillars supporting the tower, 12 in the choir, 2 in each of the transepts, and there have been 14 in the nave.

construction of those parts, regard has been had to the original plan, yet the ornaments of the windows in the tower and the transept, the beautiful arcade or range of niches on the west and north walls of the transept within, the niches and canopies on its buttresses without, and the fine tracery of the circular window at the top of the north wall, bespeak an advanced stage of Gothic architecture. Indeed, we can discover, both in the tower and the transept, the places where the new work is joined to the old. These portions of the building may be assigned to the end of the 13th century, or the beginning of the 14th; when such decorations began to be adopted.

On the north pillar in this transept, facing the north-east angle, there has been an inscription on one of the small columns in the cluster. This inscription, the only one in all the building, probably related to the erection of the transept; but it is now in a very mutilated state, as the reader will observe in the annexed sketch.

The middle part of the inscription being entirely gone, it is difficult to say what has been the subject of

it; especially as those who have pretended to give a complete copy, have evidently filled up the chasm according to their own fancy. Were we to suppose with some, that the inscription related to John of Brompton, the historian, and was designed to record his erecting some part of this transept, this would bring down the date of its erection to near the middle of the 15th century: a notion which the style of the architecture will not admit of. It is more probable, that this was another John of Brompton, or rather Brumton, the architect who built this transept, or at least some part of it, and thought proper by this inscription to perpetuate his fame.*

* Charlton (p. 266) gives the inscription thus: "Johannes de Brumton quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio extructo in honorem Dei et Virginis beatæ Mariæ"—*John of Brompton was formerly a servant of God in this monastery built in honour of God and the blessed Virgin Mary.* This inscription he conceives to have been entire till about the year 1740, when the middle was knocked out by an illiterate fellow, who hoped to find money in the pillar. The inscription he says, was preserved by the Rev. Mr. Borwick, minister of Whitby, from whom he received it. It is clear, however, that this copy must be erroneous; for our monastery was not built in honour of the virgin Mary, but of St. Peter and St Hilda. Burton (Monast. p 82) gives a very different copy, also taken by a minister of Whitby, in A. D. 1737; at which time, notwithstanding what Charlton says, it appears to have been almost as imperfect as it is now. His copy is: "Johnes de Brumpton quondam famulus Dei in hoc.....hunc Thureum in perpetuum in honorem beatæ Mariæ." This, though incorrectly copied, gives a more probable reading than the former, (supposing "thureum" to be put for "thuricremium")—*John of Brumpton once a servant of God in this* [*monastery, erected*] *this altar to the lasting honour of the blessed Mary.* We can easily suppose that an altar was erected to the honour of the virgin Mary in the aisle of this transept, where there are three small arches or niches in the north wall, and a recess in the middle one. Yet this reading seems also to be conjectural, for in the Appendix to Gent's History of Rome, (p. 1, Note) I find another copy totally different from both the above: "Johannes de Brumton, quondam famulus Domino De-La-Phe, has columnas erexit in metum et honorem beatæ Mariæ"—*John of Brumton, formerly servant to Lord De-La-Phe, erected these pillars, in*

Part of the north wall of the nave has been built at the same time with the north transept; and perhaps the same remark will apply to the top of the east wall of the choir.

The remainder of the nave is of a later date, being evidently the most modern part of the building. The place where this part commences is very conspicuous, both from the difference in the workmanship, and in the materials; the new work being more ornamented, but built of a kind of stone that is more brown and less durable.* The west front, where the principal gate was, has been the most finished part

reverence and honour of the blessed Mary. This reading has the appearance of being more authentic than either of the former; both because the inscription is on one of the *pillars*, and because some part of it is very unlikely to have been a supplement: besides, though Gent's work was not printed till the year 1740, he had probably obtained the inscription long before, or had copied it from some more ancient work; for he makes no mention of its being mutilated. If his copy be correct, it is clear that the inscription has no relation to *Brompton*, the abbot of Joreval, and writer of the Chronicle; but records the name of the *builder* which was *Brumton*. It is not improbable that this part of the church might be dedicated to the virgin Mary, as it was very common for one saint to have an altar, shrine, or chantry, in a church that belonged to another saint: and the rich arcade or range of niches, extending along the west and north walls, favours the supposition. This John of Brumton is said in this copy to have been once servant to lord *De-La-Phe*. I am at a loss to know who this lord was. There was a *William del Fehus*, son of *Robert del Fehus*, of North Loftus, a near relation of the Brus family, among the benefactors to Guisborough priory (Burton's Monast. p. 348.); and this name is not unlike that in the inscription.—I know not upon what authority Charlton states, that Brompton, the historian, spent more than twenty years in Whitby abbey: but, indeed, I have very little acquaintance with the life and writings of that abbot of Joreval.

* The brown stone, however, is found intermixed with the white in the older parts of the building; especially in the pillars. The white stone is thought to have been got from a quarry now on the verge of the cliff, north of the abbey; the brown is supposed to have been brought from a quarry beside High Whitby. Old wedges, and dressed stones, have been found in those places.

in the whole structure. The door-case has been elegant: the tracery in the upper part of the arch, and the rows of pilasters, with handsome capitals, diverging on either side of the entrance, must have had a fine effect. As the ground descends on the outside, there was here a flight of steps, part of which has been seen by some who are now living. Over the door was a lofty window, ending in an arch nearly semicircular, once adorned with mullions elegantly ramified; but this stately ornament fell down above twenty years ago, with a considerable part of the west wall. The buttresses supporting the corners were surmounted by elegant pinnacles, and adorned with a profusion of carved work: the niches are richer than in the north transept, and the canopies are crocketted. This part of the church seems to have been built in the reign of Edward III, or in the end of the 14th century.

Each of the pillars of the choir, transepts, and nave, is composed of eight columns;—four large and four small. The massy pillars of the tower contain double that number in the cluster; and their columns are more varied in their form and proportions. In the arcades which separate the choir from its aisles, the arches are all pointed, and of one form; except that the arches next to the tower are smaller than the rest; the thickness of the pillars of the tower having taken off something from the space allotted to the adjoining arches; a remark which applies also to the arches on the other sides of the tower. The extent of the tower corresponds nearly with that of the breadth of the

breadth of the choir on the one side, and of the transept on the other, excluding the aisles of both.—In the north aisle of the choir, a great part of the vaulted roof still remains. In the eastern part, the intersection of the groins is plain; but in the western extremity, which has perhaps undergone some alterations, there are key-stones finely carved.* The brackets from which the arches spring, in this aisle, are in the form of flowers; but those in the aisle of the north transept, and in that part of the nave which is of the same age, are grotesque human figures supporting the arches on their shoulders. The upper part of the choir is ornamented with a multitude of heads, of a different form, placed in various situations.

It is remarkable, that the nave is not in a straight line with the choir, but diverges about five degrees towards the north; so that, at the west end of the building, the north wall is ten feet out of the line of the north wall of the choir. The south wall of the nave is only a heap of ruins;† yet there can be no doubt that it bent in the same direction; for, by measuring from the north wall to the centre of the gate, we find that the church has not been broader within at the west end than it is at the east, although the west front has a greater extent without, owing to the greater projection of the buttresses. This curvature

* On one is a lion rampant, on another an indistinct figure which may have been a lamb, a third seems to have two fishes, and a fourth has only foliage or flowers. Burton (Monasticon, p. 82) supposes them to represent the arms of Percy and Neville. The fishes (if they are fishes) belong to the Percy arms. † It fell about the year 1762. One pillar of the nave was rebuilt by a gentleman, on its old foundation, in 1790.

of the building could scarcely be the effect of accident or inattention, as a similar bend is observed in several other ancient cruciform churches; but it is difficult to conjecture for what purpose a plan, apparently so irregular, could be adopted.

The windows are all of the lancet kind, more or less sharp, except the circular, or catherine-wheel window in the top of the north transept, and the windows of the modern part of the nave. They are placed in three rows, and those on the sides correspond with the centres of the arches within; being so placed, that the pillars might not obstruct the light. In the middle row, there are two windows over every arch, placed close together under an arch of the elliptical form. At the upper row, where the windows are small and single, there is a gallery, or walk, in the body of the wall, which has passed all round the building, not excepting the tower, and has communicated with the different staircases, of which one has ascended from the north-west angle of the north transept, and another from the north-west angle of the nave. In the west front there has been, on each side of the great window, a handsome window ending in a sharply pointed arch, and over it a small, but elegant, lozenge-shaped window. The inside of the front wall, on each side the door, is lined with facings, like windows, with semi-mullions.

The windows in the modern part of the north wall of the nave have been large, and beautiful; as may be seen by the branched mullions of two of them

yet remaining. They have been four in number; and the space between the four was faced with pannels of another window of the same size and form. Beneath that pannelling was a neat door-way, still tolerably entire. It has been between 5 and 6 feet wide, and between 8 and 9 feet high; including the tracery in the top of the arch. This door-way has opened into a porch on the north side of the nave; and from that porch there has been an entrance into a building on the east, which has extended in breadth from beside the door to the place where the modern part of the nave commences; so that the two large windows on that side of the door have looked into that building, and have not been exposed to the open air; to which circumstance, perhaps, they owe their preservation. That building was most probably the *chapter-house*, which had been rebuilt along with this portion of the nave. How far it extended outward from the wall of the nave, has not been ascertained; but if it was erected on the site of the former chapter-house, the remains of some of the abbots, and of several eminent characters, might be found in that spot.

Though the abbey church has suffered severely from the ravages of time, and from the rage of the elements; to which, by its lofty situation on our eastern cliffs, it is peculiarly exposed;—the venerable ruins are still sufficient to convey some idea of its ancient magnificence. It must have been a stately and interesting fabric, when all its parts were entire, and when the beauty of its ornaments within corresponded with the grandeur of the exterior.

Many years have elapsed since any remnant of the painted glass, that once graced the windows, could be seen in the ruins. Some fragments however are still preserved in Whitby. The most interesting are two circular pièces, each eleven inches in diameter, formerly in the windows of a house in Church Street, but now, in separate frames, in the possession of William Skinner, Esq. One represents the childhood of Christ. Mary is sitting weaving a kind of web in an upright loom, while Jesus is standing by holding a clew for her; and Joseph is entering, with a pail in his right hand, and a bundle of sticks supported against his breast with his left hand. A portion of the town of Nazareth is seen through the door, in the back ground. In the inscription, which encircles the figures, Christ thus addresses his mother: **Genitrix sanctissima multa sollicitudine nutriuisti sicut mater pissima que de labore manuū tuarū.**— *Most holy parent! with much care hast thou nourished me, like a most tender mother, even by the labour of thy hands.* The other piece is a memorial of the sufferings of Christ, as well as a token of veneration for the virgin Mary. In the centre is a heart, surrounded by a wreath of thorns; next to that are three nails, one on each side and one below; these, with the central part, are encompassed by a circle of beads, divided into five parts by the same number of roses, placed at equal distances, one at the top, and two on each side. Of the lateral roses, the two uppermost contain in the centre the appearance of Christ's hands pierced with

the nails, and the two nethermost his feet pierced in the same way. Around the whole is a circle, containing the following address to the virgin: **Aue ptissima u'go maria q. es rubens rosa et sup' omne creatura indumetu divini amoris induta.**—*Hail most pious virgin Mary, who art a ruddy rose, and clothed with a garment of divine love above every creature.** Several fragments of the painted glass have been put in the windows of the catholic chapel; but they exhibit nothing interesting. A small piece representing a parrot sitting on a sprig has long been in a window of a painter's shop in Mr. Bennison's yard in Baxtergate.†

It is highly probable, that the *cloister*, where the monks pursued their studies, stood west or south-west of the abbey church. It was a square having a green in the midst, around which were piazzas, or covered walks; and on one or more sides of the square were recesses for the monks, with seats, desks, book-cases, and other conveniences for study. The square green of the cloister probably corresponds with, or is included in, the level green in front of Mrs. Cholmley's hall; for, at the first erection of that hall, advantage would be taken of the situation of the ground.

* The word *que*, in the first inscription, seems to be a contraction for *quoque*. If it stands for *quæ*, it must have been misplaced. The representation of these pieces of glass, given in Charlton's History, by no means equals the beauty of the original; especially in the faces of the figures. † According to Leland, there was a window in the cloister, in which a representation was given in painted glass, shewing that the Scots who lived on the English borders were cannibals, so late as the time of William the conqueror, by whose sword their monstrous barbarity was punished!!! Lel. Coll. III. p. 40.

The *chapter-house*, which, as has been remarked, appears to have adjoined to the nave of the church, was the place where the abbot and convent held their ecclesiastical court; where they met to elect officers, to try offenders against the monastic rules, and to transact whatever related to the spiritual government and discipline of the institution.

Besides the chapter-house, appropriated to ecclesiastical business, there was the *hall*, where the abbot held his civil court, where respectable visiters were received, and entertainments were occasionally given. This was rebuilt in the close of the 14th century, for in the roll for 1394—5, we find several items of expenditure on account of the *new hall*. The present hall is probably on the same site; for we see, in various parts of the walls, obvious traces of the ancient building. It appears from the rolls, that, besides the great hall of the convent, there was *the abbot's hall*; and that the abbot had also his own *chamber*, or lodging room, and his own *kitchen*. These apartments were probably near the great hall. We may also suppose that the *great kitchen* was in the same quarter; as the principal entrance from the country, as well as from the harbour, was in that direction. For the same reason, the *guest-house*, where strangers were entertained and lodged, may be assigned to the same neighbourhood.

The *library*, the *refectory*, or dining-room, and the *dormitory* or *dorter*, which was the sleeping-room, may be supposed to have stood on the south of the

church. The refectory, for obvious reasons, would be near to the great kitchen; and the library was probably on the south side of the nave, that it might be near to the cloister, as well as to the church and the chapter-house. The same remark will apply to the *vestiary* or *vestry*. The *treasury* would not be far from the abbot's hall: but the *infirmary* would be removed to a distance, and as an airy situation was of advantage, it was perhaps erected on the south-east of the church, or possibly it might stand on the north side, towards the cliff, where there are many foundations of buildings. On the other hand, the *almshouse* was on the west side, and seems to have stood where Mrs. Cholmley's stables now are; the fields at the back of these stables being still called *the almshouse-close*.

It is scarcely necessary to notice the inferior offices, such as the *brew-house*, the *bake-house*, the *boult-house* (for dressing flour), the *stables*, the *kiln*, the *wood-garth*, called also the *wood-house-garth*, the *fish-house*, the *plummery*, &c.; most of which are named in the rolls. It may be remarked, however, that the brew-house was probably in the same spot where an old brew-house of the Cholmley family still remains; near which, in the almshouse-close, there is a well or reservoir: the kiln has stood near the foot of the church-stairs, where there is a yard called *kiln-yard*, or *kiln-garth*; and the fish-house must have been nearer the river, perhaps about the place where the present fish-house stands. The abbey *gardens* might be nearly in the same situation with the present gardens belonging to the hall.

The *cemetery*, or burying-ground, was of course adjacent to the abbey church; and the abbots, and others of high rank, were generally buried in the church itself, or rather in the chapter-house. Here several of the Percy family were interred; among whom was Agnes, the wife of Josceline de Lovaine, son of the duke of Brabant. She died about the year 1199, and being buried on St. Agnes' day, an epitaph was placed over her tomb, to intimate that in other things also she was like St. Agnes.*

Several of the funerals performed here were what are called *testamentary*, and were of course accompanied with suitable donations. In the year 1440, William Salvain, Esq. by his last will, proved Sept. 9th, directed his body to be buried in the ambulatory (the walk or passage) in the monastery of Whitby. In 1461, dame Catharine Plase, of Whitby, by her will, proved Febr. 24th, ordered her sepulture at the place where our Lady's mass was daily said.† In 1471, Sir John Salvain of New-Biggen, Knt. by his will, proved Janr. 11th, directed his corpse to be buried before the great altar in the church of Whitby. In 1474, John Nightingale, rector of Sneaton, by his will, proved Febr. 16th, appointed his burial to be on the north side, before the cross.§ In 1508, James

* Agnes, Agnetis festo tumulatur; et istis
Idem sexus, idem nomen, et vita dies.
Dugdale's Baronage I. p. 269, 270.

† This was probably in the north transept, as may be inferred from the inscription on the pillar. The two circular panes of painted glass, above described, in all likelihood belonged to the windows of this transept; being both complimentary to the virgin Mary. § By this it would appear that the ancient cross, now standing in the abbey plain,

Strangways, by his will, proved June 2nd, ordered his body to be interred in Whitby abbey.*

Of the sepulchral monuments which once decorated the abbey, nothing is to be seen. Two or three blue marble stones, now in the floor of the parish church, are said to have been brought thither from the abbey; and the tradition is corroborated by the vestiges of the brass plates, of which they have been despoiled. Many other defaced tomb-stones were removed to the present church-yard, and placed over different family burial-places; but, being an obstruction in the way of receiving fees for new tomb-stones, they were all destroyed by the minister of Whitby, soon after the year 1736.†

was then within the cemetery of the abbey. On this cross, and other crosses in the district, some remarks will be made in another chapter.

* Burton's Monast. p. 82. † Ch. p. 296. This says little for the antiquarian taste of Mr. Borwick, from whom both Charlton and Burton received their copies of the inscription. See Ch. p. 324, 266. Burton's Monast p. 82. He is called *Gorwood* in Burton, by a mistake, or error of the press.

The walls which inclose the site of the monastery, having all been built out of the ruins, contain a variety of carved stones. In the outside of the wall on the north-east are several fragments of a lintel which has contained a Latin inscription, in ancient characters like those on the pillar. All that I can gather from the fragments is, that the inscription has related to a knight called William.

It may be deemed an omission not to notice some contemptible verses, written since the abbey was in ruins, but ridiculously ascribed to lady Hilda. They are said to have been carved on one of the pillars, and the inscription about John of Brumton, was conceived to be a part of them!

An ancient building which you see,
Upon the hill, close by the sea,
Was Streoneshalh abbey nam'd by me.
I above-mentioned was the dame,
When I was living in the same,
Great wonders did, as you shall hear,
Having my God in constant fear.

When Whitby town with snakes was fill'd,
I to my God pray'd, and them kill'd,
And for commemoration's sake,
Upon the scar you may them take,
All turn'd to stone, in the same shape,
As they from me did make escape;
But as for heads, none can be seen,

Having taken a view of the buildings and offices of the monastery, it may be proper to notice the benefactions that were made for the use of particular offices, or for some specific services in the establishment. Many of these benefactions are recorded in the first four leaves of the Register.

Some grants were made for the service of the altar. Thus William of Ochetun (or Egton), in the time of the abbot Nicholas, gave a toft in Hinderwell, for maintaining a lamp before the high altar, in the church of St. Peter and St. Hilda.*

Various donations were made to the *almery*, or almshouse. William de Percy of Dunsley granted to the almshouse of Whitby, for ever, one oxgang of land, in Dunsley, with a toft and croft, on condition of his receiving for these premises 1 sh. yearly, besides the performance of the service belonging to them.† I have no doubt that this land was that which is still called the *almshouse-close*, at Newholm near Dunsley.§

Except they've artificial been.
Likewise the abbey now you see,
I made, that you might think of me;
Also a window there I plac'd,
That you might see me as undress'd,
In morning gown and nightrail, there
All the day long fairly appear:
At the west end of the church you'll see,
Nine paces there in each degree;
Yet if one foot you stir aside,
My comely presence is deny'd.
Now this is true what I have said,
So unto death my due I've paid.

Grose has inserted these verses in his Antiquities Vol. VI. p. 162, 163. That author's description of our abbey is far from being correct.

* R. f. 59. Ch. p. 93, 94. † R. f. 16. Ch. p. 97. Charlton, in his translation, turns the almshouse into a man, whom he calls *Almary!* He might have seen his mistake, had he noticed, that the grant was made, "on the purchase and service of the cellarist" of the abbey. § The *almshouse-close* at Newholm is now the property of Mr. Robert Peacock, who has it in right of his wife, whose ancestors of the name of Marsingale had a lease of it, by letters patent from queen Elizabeth, and afterwards bought it of Sir Richard Etherington,

Richard de Cardoile gave to the almshouse a revenue of 6d. to be paid every christmas, by him and his heirs for ever, out of that toft in the town of Whitby, which he held of Nicholas Russel, adjoining the house that belonged to Richard Brande.* Helias, servant of Helias, formerly dean of Ridale, gave also 6d. yearly to the almoner, out of some land which he held of his said master.† Many years after (in 1318), Alexander Her of Whitby gave up, for the use of almsgiving,§ half a toft of land lying in Kirkgate, between the land of John At-te-kelde (or, *John at the well*, ‖) on the one side and the land of John Pok on the other side. This half toft, which perhaps was part of the *almshouse-close*, adjoining to Church street, then called Kirkgate, was let soon after, to John at-the-well, for forty years, at 4s. 6d. yearly, and 1s. to the precentor.‡

The precentor, or chantor, who had the charge of the missals, and other books used in divine service, appears to have been librarian to the convent; for the donations to the library, which are numerous, were

in the time of James I. Like other lands occupied by the monks themselves, it is tithe-free. It would seem from the rolls, that the monks attached this land to the infirmary, and perhaps had an infirmary here.

* R. f. 3. Ch. p. 97. Here also Charlton makes the almshouse a person. † R. f. 63. Ch. p. 162. § It is not quite clear, that this expression implies that the surrender was made to the almshouse; especially as the 4s. 6d. rent, paid by the next lessee, did not go to the almshouse, but to Thomas Wibern and his family, of whom Alexander Her obtained the premises, and the additional 1s. which had been payable by Alexander Her, and perhaps by Thomas Wibern also, was paid to the precentor, and probably was intended, like the following donations, for the purchase of books. R. f. 2. Ch. p. 231. ‖ *Keld* signifies a *spring, fountain*, or *well*. Perhaps John obtained his name from having his house near to the well or fountain, in the almshouse-close. ‡ R. f. 2, 4. Ch. p. 238, 239.

all committed to his care. William de Percy, of Dunsley, gave the chantor three oxgangs of land, for making and writing books for the church.* A number of houses in Whitby paid a small sum yearly for the same purpose; and indeed, it would seem to have been a kind of general assessment on the householders. When Hugh, son of Roger Prudum, bought from Walter, son of Godefrid, son of Blaker, a toft of land in Whitby, lying between the land of Richard Freboys, and that of Agnes, wife of Thomas Cook, in a street called Floie (Flowergate); he bound himself to pay Id. yearly, for procuring books in St. Peter's church, besides burgage to the lord abbot.† Geoffrey, son of Thomas of York, paid to the precentor, for purchasing and repairing books, 4s. yearly, out of a toft in the same street, formerly possessed by Matilda de Camera and Ralph de Hoton.§ Simon the porter of Whitby paid to the same amount, for the house of Alexander the weaver, next to the house of William the son of Petronilla. Thomas de Bermingham paid 18d. yearly for half a toft in that street, lying between the land of Bartholomew the son of Alexander on the east side, and the land of Ralph the fisherman on the west side. Hugh, the son of Alexander Suanball, paid 3s. yearly for the shop and sollar (or garret) of his house in Hakelsougate (Haggersgate), towards the street. ‖ Thomas Skyn (Skinner), son of Richard Skyn, granted the abbot and convent half a toft of land in Whitby,

* R. f. 55. Ch. p. 98. † R. f. 4. Ch. p. 197. § R. f 4 Ch. p. 219. ‖ R. f. 2, 3, 4. Ch. p. 229, 230. All these payments were made to the precentor. The deeds referred to are all dated between 1290 and 1300.

for buying them books; viz. the half toft between the land of Walter, son of William the fuller, and the land of Isabel Fox: and, about 21 years after (in 1313), the abbot Thomas let to Richard Landmote, for forty years, half a toft in *Floregate*, between the two tofts of Wm. de la Sale, at 4s. rent, paid to the precentor.*

Some grants were made to the infirmary. Ralph, son of Baldwin of Bramhop, gave 5s. yearly, to the infirmary, out of his land at Ayton in the vale of Pickering; to be paid by his homager, Lawrence the son of Daniel, who became bound, for himself and his heirs, to pay it duly.† We find also a revenue of 5s. yearly paid to the *sacrist*, by Ralph Nuvel of York, for two pieces of land in Whitby; in exchange for a rent of 5s. paid out of some land in Ousegate, York; for which he was still to pay the sacrist 1s. yearly. In like manner, an acre of land in Upleatham, was granted to the sacrist, by Robert, son of Robert Clere.§ The *master-builder* too received half a mark of silver yearly, from some land in Dales, let by the abbot Peter, to William the brother of Reginald of Suthfeld. ‖ These last benefactions, however, were rather assigned to the *officers* named, than to any particular service in the institution; it being customary to set apart lands or revenues for the support of different officers, as well as for the maintenance of particular departments

* R. f. 1, 2. Ch. p. 229, 237. † R f. 56, 60, 64. Ch. p. 189, 190 § R. f. 58, 20. Ch. p. 198, 192. The name Robert Clere *(Roberti Cleri)* might be read Robert *the clerk* or *clergyman*. Notwithstanding the injunctions of celibacy, there were then *sons of the clergy*. ‖ R. f. 70. Ch. p. 160, 161.

of the monastery.* Donations were sometimes made, not only to the officers, but to each monk individually. Thus Roger Thornton, who was mayor of Newcastle, by his will, made on "the thursday next before yole-day, in the year of our Lord 1429," left, among many other bequests to religious houses, "to every monk of Whitby a noble."†

After this account of the buildings and offices of our abbey, it will be proper to take a view of the CELLS, or smaller monasteries, which were under its care.

In the list of the cells subject to Whitby, the first place is due to *Hackness;* as it not only belonged to the monks of Whitby almost from the first era of the revival of the monastery, when it was occasionally the chief residence of our monks, but was also one of the cells connected with Streoneshalh in the days of Hilda and Ælfleda. There were lands of St. Hilda at this place in the time of the conqueror, and the privileges of *soch, sach,* &c. were granted to St. Peter's church at Hackness, before they were conferred on the church of Whitby.§ A few of the earliest benefactions given to our monks were particularly assigned to the church of Hackness; but, after the grant of Whitby Strand, these donations were incorporated with the other possessions of the monastery; and we find from the rolls, that this cell had no estates, and kept no accounts, separate from those of the parent establishment. Here, however, as in other cells, there were monastic

* As in Evesham abbey. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 147, 148. † Bourne's Newcastle, p. 210. § See p. 251, 256, 257, 279.

offices similar to those of Whitby, but on a smaller scale, as was the case in the Saxon period. None of those buildings now remain, except the church, which though it has undergone repairs and alterations, retains an air of venerable antiquity. The seats of the monks in the choir, or chancel, still remain, nearly in the same state in which they were at the dissolution; the Johnstone family, to whom the manor belongs, having, much to their credit, taken care to preserve them. They are built of oak, in the form of stalls, twelve in number; four being placed against each side of the choir, and four more, two on each side the passage, fronting the altar. Each stall has been furnished with a turn-up seat, which, having a broad front, formed when turned back a kind of small seat or table, called the *misericord*, on which the monks occasionally leaned. The turn-up part, which was raised to allow them more room when it was their duty to stand, still remains in most of the seats.* It does not turn on hinges, but slides in a kind of groove, into which it enters at each end. When it is raised up, the nether part, which then becomes the front, displays some beautiful carving of fruits, flowers, grotesque heads, &c. From the number of the seats we may infer, that the cell was intended to accommodate twelve monks, with a prior or sub-prior to govern them;† though perhaps their number was seldom complete.

The next cell belonging to our abbey was in

* See Fosbrooke's Brit. Monach. II. p. 107. Note. † *Thirteen* formed a proper convent, corresponding in number with Christ and his twelve apostles. Ibid. I. p. 16.

Fishergate in York, at the church of All Saints, granted by William Rufus, and honoured, like Hackness, with various immunities. The lands at Bostard-Thorp, and a few donations more, were granted for the special support of this cell; but its accounts were not kept separate from those of the parent monastery.* It never contained a great number of monks; remote cells being regarded as places of banishment.† This cell was so completely demolished after the dissolution, that Drake could not ascertain the spot where it stood.§

But *Middleburgh*, near the mouth of the Tees, seems to have been the principal cell belonging to Whitby abbey. It was established about the year 1120, by Robert de Brus of Skelton, who endowed it with some lands at Middleburgh and at Newham; to which large accessions were afterwards made in different parts of Cleveland, by the bounty of various benefactors, chiefly in the time of the abbot Roger. ‖ This cell, where twelve or more monks probably resided, had its own prior, who is named both in the register,‡ and in the rolls; and it had also its own *compotus*, distinct from that of the abbey. The annual income of this cell was estimated, in 1534, at £21. 3s. 8d.** The buildings have been wholly destroyed.

* R. f 140, 65. Ch. p. 58, 62, 72. † Fosbrooke, II. p. 199. § Eborac. p. 250. The Minorite brothers at York had some premises adjacent to this cell; and our monks granted them water from their well in the corner of the court-yard, under certain restrictions. R. f. 76. Ch p. 222. ‖ R. f. 23, 24, 25, 26, &c. Ch p. 76, 180, 181, &c. *Nekulam*, or *Newcham*, in Brus's charter, is not *Newholm* near Whitby, as Charlton fancies (p. 72); but *Newham* in the parish of Marton in Cleveland. Brus never had any land at Newholm. ‡ The prior of Middleburgh in 1393, was Thomas of Hawkesgarth. He attended at Whitby to vote at the election of a new abbot. R. f. 130. Ch. p. 256. ** Tanner's Notitia, p. 656.

Besides these three cells, our abbey had several lesser dependencies called HERMITAGES. One of these was in *Godeland*. It was granted by Henry I to one Osmund a priest and a few brethren, who took up their habitation there; but it was soon after transferred to our abbey; Osmund and his brethren adopting the rule of St. Benedict, and putting themselves under the paternal care of the abbot. This hermitage, which was called St. Mary's, was endowed by king Henry with one carucate, to which William Bore added one toft in Locinton.* The hermitage seems to have been little frequented for some time previous to the dissolution; a remark which is applicable to the hermitages in general, as the monks of that age preferred the luxuries of the convent to the sweets of retirement. The place of worship, however, was retained as a chapel, and is still in use.†

The hermitage of *Westcroft*, on the banks of the Derwent, near Hutton-Bushell, was granted to our abbey, by Alan Bushell, and Gervase his brother, about the year 1140.§ The Register mentions it several times, but throws no light on its history; and no information respecting it has been derived from any other source.

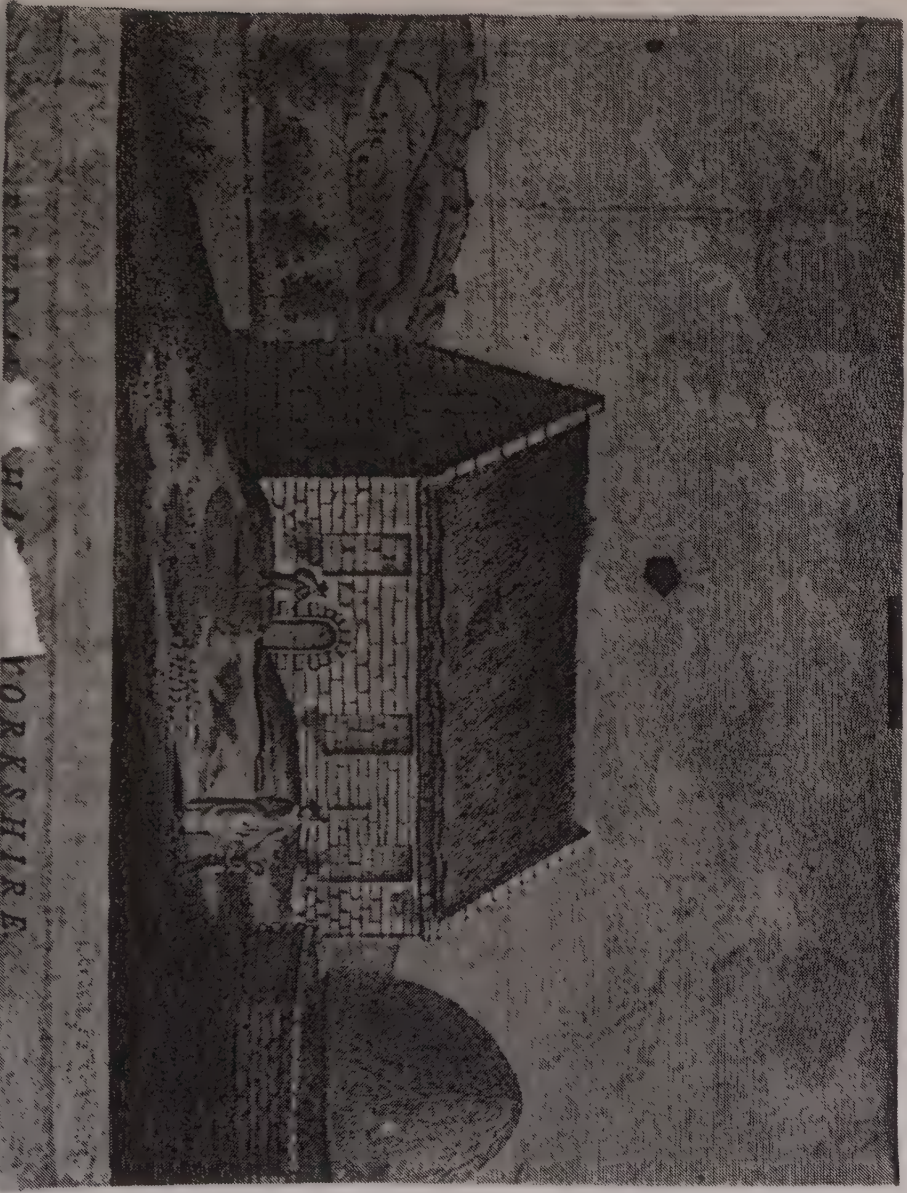
* R. f. 62, 60. Ch. p. 74, 75. † Godeland is sometimes called a *cell*. Burton's Monast. p. 86. The original hermitage probably stood above a mile north-east of the present Godeland chapel, at a place called *The abbot's house*, belonging to Messrs. Thomas and Peter Harwood. In 1460, the abbot and convent had some land let in Godeland at 20s. rent. The chapel has now no connexion with Whitby church; yet the common right of pasturage in *Allen-Tofts* in Godeland, still belongs to the inhabitants of Sneaton, Ugglebarnby, Hawsker, and Stainsacre; for which they pay yearly 2s. 4d. of *gist-money*, though they never make use of their privilege. § R. f. 17, 62, &c. Ch. p. 71, 100, 140.

We are as much in the dark respecting the hermitage of *Eskdale*; being unable to tell when, or by whom, it was founded, or at what time it ceased to be used as a hermitage: but it appears to have been converted into an ordinary chapel, previous to the year 1226.* The chapel, which was called St. John's, is now in ruins; an elegant chapel having been erected, instead of it, in Sleights, about the year 1762.†

Another hermitage belonging to Whitby was at a place called *Hode*, on the moors beyond Helmsley; where Robert de Alnetto, a monk of Whitby, lived for some time; but, in 1138, Roger de Mowbray, and Gundreda his mother, purchased the place from our monks, and founded there a Cistercian abbey, which was afterwards removed to Byland.§ The church at Hode was dedicated to St. Mary, and St. William; but it is not known who this St. William

* The hermitage of Eskdale is noticed in the Memorial; (R. f. 139. Ch. p. 70.) and is mentioned incidentally in a charter granted by the abbot Richard II: (R. f. 66. Ch. p. 129.) but, in the *bull* of pope Honorius III, issued in 1226, it is named among the *chapels* belonging to Whitby church. R. f. 32. Ch. p. 172. † Grose gives an account of Eskdale chapel, (Antiqu. VI. p. 89—93.) for the sake of introducing the fable of the hermit, who is said to have been killed here. Charlton states, that this was a cell, or hermitage, in the days of lady Hilda; that the poet Cedmon lived in it; and that the chapel was built by the abbot Roger; but these are mere conjectures. § Our monastery received, in exchange for Hode, a dwelling-house at Foss-bridge in York; besides the remission of the service due on account of their lands in Tollestun. R. f. 65, 19, 140. Ch. p. 95. Burton's Mon. p. 328. Charlton, as usual, adorns this subject with his conjectures. Among other things, he states that Robert de Alnetto was dead, when this hermitage was purchased and converted into an abbey; whereas it appears from Dugdale's Monasticon (I. p. 1028.), that Robert became one of the monks under Gerald the first abbot of Hode. This Gerald gave up a claim which he and his convent had on the land which our abbey possessed in Buterwick. R. f. 61.

Eskdale Chapel.



From Grose's Antiquities.

was,* nor whether the dedication took place before or after the establishment of the abbey.

About the same era, the hermitage of *Mulgrif* (now *Mulgrave*) in the forest of Dunsley, was founded by William de Percy of Dunsley, in fulfilment of a vow, and was dedicated to St. James the apostle. It was endowed with some lands in the vicinity, and given to our abbey; on condition that divine service should be daily celebrated there by a priest from Whitby.† Nothing further is known concerning it, except that there is a place in Mulgrave woods still called *The hermitage*, where it no doubt stood.

The last hermitage known to have belonged to Whitby is *Saltburn* on the banks of Holebeck. It was the gift of Roger de Argentum, about the year 1215; but, as his charter states that it was formerly possessed by Archil, it must have been founded several years before.§—On the whole, it appears, that all the hermitages were established about one period; and that, in the course of some years, the heremitical life becoming unfashionable, most of them were either entirely abolished, or converted into chapels.

In regard to the HOSPITALS belonging to Whitby, some suppose that there were two; but it does not appear that there was more than one, viz. the hospital

* According to Charlton, he was the first William de Percy. He could not be St. William of York; for the latter was not archbishop till some years after. † Ch. p. 99. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 988. This charter is not in the Register. Probably this hermitage was more frequented than the rest, lying the nearest to Whitby. It is the only one mentioned in the bull of pope Honorius, in 1226. § R. f. 57. Ch. p. 161.

that was erected at *Spital-Brigg*.* Of this hospital we have a particular account in the Register; and as the memorial relating to it is interesting, it will be proper to insert a literal translation:

For proof of the annual payment of six shillings to the abbot of the monastery of Whitby, by the abbot and convent of the monastery of Rieval; BE IT KNOWN, that in the year of our Lord M. C. IX. William de Percy, the first abbot of Whitby, having compassion on a good and righteous, but leprous man, named Orme, founded an hospital at the bridge now called the *Spytyll brygd*, giving to the said hospital the woody and thorny ground adjacent to it, and every week vii loaves and vii flagons of beer weekly, and every day a dish of flesh or fish (as was most suitable for diet); and afterwards a dish from the refectory, with the usual bread and beer. Afterwards Geoffrey Mansell, a monk of Whitby, reputed leprous, obtained the aforesaid hospital in which he dwelt till the day of his death. After which Geoffrey, some poor people, as well healthy as sick, lived there. At which time, a certain monk of Whitby named Robert de Alneto, master of the said hospital, begged of the aforesaid abbot William two oxgangs of land in Honentun, with one toft, which Gundrea Mwbra [Mowbray], herctofore wife of Nigell de Albini, gave to St. Peter and St. Hylda of Whitby, and to the monks serving God there, for a perpetual alms, for the soul of her husband, for Roger Mowbray their son, and for herself: Which two oxgangs of land, with the toft, the monastery of Rieval now holds for the time from the abbot and convent of Whitby, and has held from the time of Aelred, abbot of Rieval, of happy memory: Which abbot Aelred also granted the brethren of the aforesaid hospital, that they should annually receive the old clothes of the brethren of his convent, and that they should be forwarded every year at the feast of St. Martin. And because the abbot and convent of the monastery of Rieval were lords and possessors of the aforesaid town of Honenton, they therefore wished to hold, of the abbot and convent of Whitby, the aforesaid two oxgangs of land with the toft, for six shillings yearly, to be paid to the monastery of Whitby. Thereafter, through the special and spiritual friendship between the professors [monks] of the monastery of Whitby and the monastery of Rieval, the abbot and convent of the monastery of Whitby let to the abbot and convent of Rieval sundry lands in the town of Caton [Cayton], to be held of them as an inheritance and perpetual farm, for thirteen shillings and X. pence to be paid yearly; for which lands every abbot of Rieval, during his own time, is bound to do homage to the abbot of Whitby. For which lands also, the brethren of the monastery

* Tanner mentions two Whitby hospitals (Notitia Monast. p. 668, 690.); but what he says of them may be appropriated to this one hospital.

of Rieval were put to trouble, while William Nesfeld was escheator, and the monastery of Rieval was vacant by the death of the then abbot; when, by an inquisition held concerning the aforesaid lands, the brethren of Rieval were dispossessed, and the aforesaid lands were confiscated into the hand of our lord the king, as appears by the rolls of the exchequer of our lord the king, roll †. Yet, it was afterwards found, that the aforesaid lands and tenements are held of the abbot of Whitby, and were held, for a service of xiii. s. and x. d. yearly, from time immemorial, and were not of the inheritance which belonged to the earl of Albimarle:* and, by a certain brief, the king commanded his barons, to satisfy the abbot of Rieval for the rents of those lands and tenements from the time of their being seized, and to exonerate and relieve him from rendering any further account of them to the exchequer. Likewise P. [Peter] the abbot and convent of Whitby sold to G. [Guarine] the abbot and convent of Rieval that half toft which William Cordarius [or *Roper*] the son of Leising held of the church of Whitby in Fischergate, to be held of the church of Whitby for ever, for xiiii yearly, to be paid out of it to the abbot of Whitby or his bailiff at Fischergate, &c.†

This record comprises an account, not only of the hospital of Whitby, but of the principal transactions between our abbey and that of Rievaux. The grant of two oxgangs in Honentun, belonging to the brethren of the hospital, was confirmed to the convent of Rievaux by the bull of pope Alexander III, in 1160.§ The hospital, which was dedicated to St. John Baptist, seems to have become considerable; for the

* *William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, rebelling against King Henry III, in* 1221, *his possessions were forfeited to the crown; but he was afterwards pardoned. M. Paris, p.* 310. *M. Westm. II. p.* 111. † *R. f.* 136. *This memorial, which is one of the last that has been entered in the Register, concludes thus abruptly, as the document with which it closes had been already inserted at full length in folio* 64; *where we learn that besides the* 14*d. this toft was to pay* 2*d. yearly for* hungable *to the king. The* 6*s. yearly, which this record mentions, was paid by the abbey of Rievaux in* 1460. *The rent of Cayton for that year is* 26*s.* 4*d. so that either the rent had been raised, or else our monastery had other lands there, besides those which they let at* 13*s.* 10*d. to the abbey of Rievaux: unless we suppose that sum in the compotus to include the arrears of the foregoing year. Charlton has divided this memorial, and sadly mangled it in his translation, p.* 68, 151, 154. *Among other blunders, he makes Orme, whom he calls a* freeholder, *the founder of the hospital. This mistake was pointed out to me by Anthony Thorpe, Esq. of York, to whose kindness I am indebted for various favours.*

§ Ex dono fratrum Hospitalis de Witebi duas bovatas terræ in Hovetun [Honetun] secundum formam cartæ illorum. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 732.

gift of the mastership, which at first belonged to the abbot, was afterwards held by the crown.* The institution probably continued till the era of the dissolution. Some remains of the building may yet be seen in the premises at Spital Brigg, belonging to William Skinner, Esq. and John Holt, Jun. Esq.; particularly three small cellars, neatly constructed of hewn stone.†

It now remains that we take a view of the CHURCHES and CHAPELS belonging to the abbey.

The church of *St. Mary*, which became, and still is, the parish church of Whitby, requires to be first noticed. In the Saxon period, there was but one church at Streoneshalh (though it was surrounded by a number of oratories or chapels); for, in those days of simplicity, the people of the town, and of the country around, worshipped under the same roof with the monks and nuns; but some years after the conquest, when religious pride became more general, the monks would have thought themselves degraded by such an intermixture. The church of the convent was appropriated to themselves, and to such friends as they chose to admit; while a meaner structure was erected for the use of the vulgar. Even at the era of Domesday, there was a church of St. Mary at Hackness for the parish, while St Peter's was reserved for the monks:

* Tanner's Notitia, p. 690. † One of the cellars is 10 feet long, 5½ broad, and 5½ high; the door 4 feet by 2: another is 5 feet square, and 5½ feet high; the door 3 feet by 2: the third is 9 feet by 4, and also 4 feet high; the door 3½ feet by 2. In this last, there have been two concealed presses. The roofs and floors are formed with large flat stones.

and not long after, in the time of the abbot William de Percy, the church of St. Mary was erected at Whitby, for the inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood.* Though this church, which was erected about 60 years prior to the oldest part of the present abbey church, has undergone many alterations, enough of the ancient structure still remains, to point out its original form and workmanship. It is a specimen of the early Norman architecture, which intervened between the Saxon and the Gothic. It had not indeed the massive columns, the thick walls, the crypt, nor the circular recess for the altar, which distinguished the Saxon churches; but, like these, it had neither tower nor transepts, but was a plain, oblong building, with a chancel at its eastern extremity. It had no aisles; and the windows, of which there was but one row, were very small, each being only 20 inches broad, and about 4 feet 6 inches high. Of course, they had no occasion either for mullions or transoms.† The original arches are all semicircular;

* I place the erection of this church in the time of the abbot William, because it is not named in the first charter of Alan de Percy granted to that abbot (R. f. 8. Ch. p 63.) nor in any former charter, but is included in Alan's second charter, R. f. 71. Ch. p 67. I have already rejected the notion, that any church was built here by Edwin (See p. 116—118, 171); and it may be necessary here to remind the reader, that Charlton's account of the rebuilding of that supposed ancient church, the transferring of the title of St. Peter's from that to the conventual church, &c are mere fictions. † It may be remarked, that the lancet windows in the old part of the abbey church have also had no mullions nor transoms, with the exception of the central window at the east end, which has been parted into two lancet windows by a mullion running up the midst, and branching at the top, and has been also divided across by a battlemented transom, which still remains. This window, however, like the upper part of the choir, does not appear to be coeval with the lower part.

for the pointed arch of the great west door (now blocked up), and that of the chancel door, may be assigned to a later era. The windows sloped within, where they had shafts, with plain mouldings; but they had no exterior decoration, except a narrow tablet, or string, running along the wall at their base, and a similar band at the top, which in passing along described a semicircle over each window, its general direction being in a line with the springs of their arches.* These bands, of which a considerable portion yet appears in the south wall, have crossed the buttresses, and passed round the whole building, with the exception of the chancel. The original windows have all been either closed up or enlarged. The south door of the church, now the principal entrance, is adorned externally with two pillars, or shafts, on each side, the one multangular, the other cylindrical; having square capitals with spiral ornaments, perhaps in allusion to lady Hilda's headless snakes. The mouldings are all plain. The large arch which separates between the church and chancel is of the same form, except that it has shafts and mouldings on both sides; some of which, however, have suffered from the hand of time. The door-case was sheltered by a porch which is now gone; but has been replaced by a new and elegant porch in the Gothic taste. The walls, which like those of the abbey church are about 3 feet thick, are crowned with battlements; and the

* The same kind of windows may be seen in the oldest part of Rievaux abbey, viz. the transept, built in 1131; and in many other churches of the same age.

projection of the battlements of the chancel rests on a neat arcade, or arched cornice, which more than compensates for the want of the horizontal bands. But as the upper part of the wall, even where it is oldest, has evidently been rebuilt, perhaps more than once, it may be questioned whether the church, in its pristine state, had any battlements, especially as other Norman churches appear to have had only a simple parapet.* After cruciform churches began to be in fashion, this church was transformed into that shape, by adding a wing on each side to the body of the church close to where it joins the chancel. That these transepts, though ancient, and perhaps not a hundred years later than the church, did not originally belong to it, may be discerned not only by the great difference in the architecture, the oldest of the transept windows having pointed arches, and other tokens of the Gothic style; but even by an attentive examination of the junction of those wings to the body of the church. The want of a central tower corroborates this opinion; the present tower having been erected at the west end, long after the church was built. Of this there can be no doubt; for, besides the difference

* It is from the south wall of the church that the character of the building is determined, that being obviously the most entire portion of the original structure; together with the greater part of the chancel, where the narrow windows, now blocked up, are easily discerned. Now, the old buttresses on the south wall, which project only 6 or 7 inches, terminate considerably below the battlements, and that part of the wall which is above their termination is less ancient, and appears to have been an addition to the height of the wall. The door of the chancel, and its battlements, are also finished in a style much later than that of the south side of the church. The original north wall is completely gone; that part of the church having been rebuilt from the ground in 1744.

in the style of architecture, and the obvious junction of the tower to the wall of the church, we see, within the tower, the tablets, or bands, which run along the south wall, continued in that part of the west wall which the tower has inclosed. For some time after its erection, the tower has served as a porch to the church, the main entrance being still at that end; but that entrance through the tower has now been shut up for several ages;—an improvement which its exposure to the sea-winds must have imperiously demanded. The tower has formerly been higher than it is now; as may be inferred from the traces of the sharp slated roof of the church which has risen above the present height of the tower, before the church obtained its flat leaden roof.*

* Charlton alleges (p. 283) that the church had only a thatched roof, prior to the dissolution, when it was roofed with lead taken from the abbey; but the vestiges of the ends of the old roof, still very discernible, clearly shew that it must have been slated. Besides, the *compotus* for 1394—5 contains a charge for *sclatstanes* for roofing a chapel at Hackness; and this precludes the supposition that the church of St. Mary would be covered with thatch. The roof has been very sharp, as has also been that of the abbey, which has nearly reached the base of the highest windows of the tower.

As to the dimensions of the building: the original church, before the erection of the tower and transepts, has been 103 feet long by 34 broad, on the outside; exclusive of the chancel, which is 39 feet by 25, outside. In regard to the additions; each transept extends about 34 feet from the church wall, exclusive of their buttresses which (unlike the ancient buttresses of the church) project about 18 or 20 inches: the tower is nearly 26 feet square, if we include the thickness of the west wall of the church, over which the east wall of its summit is built: and the height of the tower is nearly double its breadth. The walls of the chancel are only about 12 feet high; those of the church are much higher, especially at the western part, where the declivity of the ground adds to their height. The door is of small dimensions, being only about 10 feet high and 4 feet wide; but the original western entrance has been much larger. Besides this door, there is the small door of the chancel which is on the south, and a door of modern

But St. Mary's was not the only place of worship for the inhabitants of Whitby; there was also a church, or rather a chapel, called *St. Ninian's*. The history of this place is involved in obscurity; tradition has not preserved its name, nor is it mentioned in the Register; yet its existence is ascertained from the Rolls beyond a doubt. In the *compotus* for 1396, immediately after the "the alterage" of St. Mary's, there is an entry of the sum received "from the chest of St. Ninian's;" and, in the *compotus* for 1460—1, the receipts "from the chest of St. Ninian's" immediately follow those "from the chest of the blessed Mary."* For understanding these passages it is necessary to observe, that in the year 1201, Eustace abbot of Flay, a zealous reformer of that age, who travelled through various parts with a view to revive religion, came into Yorkshire where he was kindly received by Geoffrey the archbishop, and the clergy, under whose patronage he laboured to abolish sunday-fairs, and other gross profanations of the Lord's day, and to enforce the practice of piety. He also prevailed on the people who attended his preaching, to vow that for every article which they sold of the value of 5s. they would give one farthing, for buying lights to the

construction, on the north side of the church. The angle between the north transept and the chancel is filled up with a modern vestry, which adds little to the beauty of the structure.

* "Eccles. Beate Marie—De alt'agio ibm.—v. li. iii. s. iiii. d.—De tronco Sci' Niniani—iiii. *li.* xiiii. *s.*"—*Roll for* 1396. "Eccles. de Whitby—De...Alt'io ejusd.—xxi. *s.* i. *d.*—De Trūcco beate ma.—vii. *d.*—De Trūco Sci' niniani—iiii. *s.* ii. *d.*"—*Roll for* 1460—1. Concerning the great diminution in the offerings for this last year, see p. 293, 294.

church, and for burying the poor: and, by his direction, a chest or box *(truncus)* was put up in every parish church to receive such oblations.* Now as these chests were placed in the "parish churches," where the people worshipped, and as there was at Whitby "a chest of St. Ninian's," besides that of St. Mary's, it is clear, that there must have existed here a chapel called St. Ninian's, distinct from, though dependant on, the church of St. Mary. The omission of this chapel in the Register will not appear surprising, if we consider, that it was probably erected only a little before the year 1396, and that there are very few articles in that record of so recent a date. In regard to the site of St. Ninian's chapel, I am fully persuaded that it has stood at the north-east end of Baxtergate, close to what is called the *Horse-mill Ghaut*, from a horse-mill which was there some years ago. The house at that Ghaut, belonging to Christopher Richardson, Esq. and now used for his wine cellars, was a place of worship, previous to the erection of the present Baxtergate chapel, and divine service was performed there every thursday, and had been from time immemorial. In a writing in the possession of the proprietor, dated in 1716, the premises are described as formerly called the *callice-house* and garth, but now called the *chapel-house* and garth. The old name *callice-house*, or *chalice-house*, as well as the modern name, implies that it was used for divine service; and as it is upwards of a hundred

* R. Hoved. ad ann. 1201. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 511.

years since the name was changed, so there can be little doubt that the name *chalice-house* had also been used for a long period: and it is not improbable, that that name was laid aside in the days of Cromwell, as savouring too much of popery. Could any older writings be obtained to trace back its history to the dissolution, I have no doubt that this place would be found to be the site of St. Ninian's chapel. A recent discovery strongly corroborates this idea. The workmen employed last year (1815) by William Chapman, Esq. in erecting a new house on his premises adjoining this old chapel, discovered a very solid foundation of some ancient building of hewn stone, and also found some neatly carved stones which had belonged to it; and it is more than probable that these were part of the remains of St. Ninian's.* Besides, when we consider the superabundance of places of worship at that era, particularly in this district, and recollect, that there were so many priests and chaplains about the abbey, and that there were many houses in Flower-gate and other places on the west side of the Esk, even before the year 1300, it is scarcely credible that no divine service was performed on that side the river prior to the dissolution; especially as the bridge

* Unfortunately the workmen did not make known the discovery to any person who would have examined the place minutely, till the whole was covered up. It was on a part of these premises that the *horse-mill*, for grinding malt, formerly stood.—Charlton alleges (p. 288) that Baxtergate had no existence till 50 years after the dissolution, but was a part of *the Bell*, and was overflowed by the tide, &c.: but those assertions are of a piece with his other fancies. Backdale beck must have flowed then about the place where it flows now, and would necessarily separate between *the Bell* and the ground where Baxtergate stands.—St. Ninian's has escaped Charlton's observation.

at that time must have been much inferior to the present bridge. To all which we may add, that the vicinity of our *old Market Place* to this chapel will account for the curious fact, that the oblations from the profits of trade, thrown into St. Ninian's box, were more than what were cast into St. Mary's.*

The rest of the chapels belonging to St. Mary's church are better known; though there are several things also in their history about which we are in the dark. One of the oldest of those chapels is that of *Sneaton*. When or by whom it was built, is not known; but it is mentioned as a chapel belonging to St. Mary's, in a charter of archbishop Thurstan, granted in 1131, or 1132.† The advowson of this chapel was sold by the abbot Benedict to John Arundel and his heirs, on condition, that the parson of Sneaton should pay 10s. yearly to the abbey, that the dead belonging to the chapelry should be buried in the cemetery of St. Mary's, that the parson of Sneaton should not perform the funeral service for them, unless the parson of Whitby declined to officiate, and that the fees, bequests, or funeral gifts, given by them and their friends for saying masses, &c. should be equally divided between the two parsons.§ Sneaton afterwards

* I shall afterwards give my reasons for believing that the old cross in the abbey plain was not the *market cross* of Whitby. The market was probably held at the bottom of Flowergate, long before the dissolution; though there might be also a market for fish, &c. on the opposite side. † R. f. 52. Ch. p. 86. Gosfrid, abbot of York, who was abbot only in 1131 and 1132, is one of the witnesses. See Drake's Eborac. p. 594. This Gosfrid is supposed by Charlton to be Gosfrid de Percy, p. 84, 81. He also says, but it is mere conjecture, that the chapels of Sneaton and Fyling were built by the abbot Wm. de Percy, p. 68. § R. f. 44. Ch. p. 103.

became a parish church, and obtained a cemetery of its own; but at what period I have not learned.* The church, which is a small, homely, oblong building, bears the marks of great age.

The chapel of *Fyling*, dedicated to St. Stephen, is of equal, if not greater, antiquity. It occurs also in the charter of Thurstan; and like Sneaton, it became a parish church, though it was probably a dependant chapel till after the dissolution, as it is in the list of chapels belonging to St. Mary's in 1353, and in 1431. It was sometimes taken for a parish church, and more than once, the archdeacon of Cleveland demanded his visitation dues (7s. 6d.) for it, as an independent church; but the claim could not be sustained.† Perhaps this surmise might originate in the superior workmanship of the edifice:§ yet I am inclined to trace it unto another source. The church of Fleinesburg or *Flemesburg*, as it may be read, was given to our monastery by Hugh earl of Chester, in the days of Reinfrid; now, there is reason to believe, that this Flemesburg was not the modern Flambrough, but some place of the same name near Whitby, and

* It was probably between the years 1226 and 1353; for Sneaton is named as a dependant chapel in the bull of pope Honorius in 1226, but is omitted in the list of the chapels subject to St. Mary's in 1353, and in 1463. R. f. 32, 84, 85. Ch. p. 171, 172, 249, 250, 266. No mention is made of the *saint* to whom this chapel or church was dedicated. † This claim was made by the archdeacon Thomas Heliwell in 1353, and by the archdeacon William Nelson in 1431; but after a trial, on both occasions, it was found that Fyling was one of the chapels of St. Mary's. R. f. 84, 85. Ch. p. 249, 266. § It has had aisles like a church: some of the arches appear built up in the south wall. Some remains of Norman architecture may be observed, but they will soon be destroyed, as the church is about to be rebuilt.

as Fyling was possessed by Tancred the *Fleming*, it is extremely probable that it was sometimes called *Flemesburg*, and that the church of Fyling was that which earl Hugh granted to Reinfrid. Nor is it unlikely that it might also be the same with the church of *Saxeby*, which was in Fyling, and which is also but once mentioned in the Register. If this was the case, we can easily see why those documents which might have elucidated its ancient history have not been recorded; as their preservation might have shewed it to be an independent church.*

Dunsley chapel was probably built by the Percies of Dunsley. It was older than the hermitage of *Mulgrif*,† and it subsisted longer; for it continued until the dissolution. It was only a small building, as appears from the foundations which are still visible.§

* The church of Flambrough near Bridlington was given at an early period to Bridlington priory. Burton's Monast. p. 72. Note. and p 226. Dugd. Monast. II. p. 163. See also p. 252. Note. In the note referred to, I have viewed this circumstance as a ground of suspecting the authenticity of earl Hugh's charter; but, if we consider *Fyling* as *Flemesburg*, the suspicion will be done away. Had there been any church of that name in Cleveland, we might have placed it there, on account of the stipulation with Guisborough mentioned in p. 328. The church of *Saxeby* in Fyling was surrendered by Robert of Egton, who had some claim on Fyling, R. f. 13. Charlton has joined his two surrenders into one, p. 134. Yet that author's idea, that *Saxeby* was in South Fyling, where there was a field called *Chapel-garth* in the Hotham estates (p. 135), is by no means improbable: only we must suppose, in that case, that Saxeby church was suppressed by our monks, being never otherwise mentioned. Still I am more inclined to reckon this church, as well as *Flemesburg*, the same with Fyling. It is singular that Fyling church even at this day has several names, as *Bay church*, *Thorp church*, &c. † See William de Percy's charter for the hermitage, Ch. p. 99. § The chapel is 30 feet by 24, the chancel 20 feet by 16. The *exordium* of an imperfect inscription on a grave-stone lying within the chapel, shews that it has been used as a cemetery prior to the reformation: LORD HAVE MERCY UPON Y^e^ SOULE OF ED....The foundation of the

The chapel of *Ugglebarnby*, and that of *Aislaby*, both of which still belong to Whitby church, were erected about the same time; as was also the chapel of *Hawsker*. This last was built by Aschetine of Hawkesgarth [Hawsker], who endowed it with lands in Ormesgrif, Sitdregrif, &c. in the time of the abbot Benedict.* Ugglebarnby chapel appears to have been erected by Ralph of Ugglebarnby, who was perhaps of the same family that is most frequently called *Everley*.† The builder of Aislaby chapel is not known. An ancient cross is almost the only thing remaining to point out the site of Hawsker chapel. It was dedicated to All Saints: Aislaby chapel to St. Margaret.§

The church of St. Mary at *Hackness* has already been noticed more than once. It had at least one chapel belonging to it; ‖ but whether it was in Harwooddale, or some place nearer Hackness, is not known.

The church of *Ayton* in Cleveland was granted to our abbey by Robert de Mainill, in the time of the abbot William de Percy. This church, which was called St. Mary's, was one of the most important belonging to the abbey, having no less than three

north wall has been undermined, by people digging up materials for repairing roads, and the bones of the dead have been exposed to view.

* R. f. 57. Ch. p. 105. Charlton's notion that there was formerly a *hermitage* in Hawsker originated in a blunder already noticed. See p. 302. His assertions respecting the builders of the chapels at Dunsley, Ugglebarnby, and Aislaby, are mere conjectures. † Ralph endowed the chapel with 2 oxgangs of land. R. f. 22. Ch. p. 93. § A piece of land near Aislaby is called *St. Margrett's Launde, alias Thomcrossebutts*, which, according to an old deed, "was formerly given and used to maintain a light in the church or chapel of Aislaby, called St. Margrett's light." Ch. p. 135. To what saints the chapels of Dunsley and Ugglebarnby were dedicated I have not learned. ‖ See p. 370. Note.

chapels subject to it; viz. the chapel of *Newton* under Rosebury, that of *Little Ayton*, and that of *Nunthorp*. The last had its name from its being possessed by the nuns of Basedale; who had their residence here before Basedale was given them. Ayton church had some special benefactions assigned to it; among which was a singular grant from Richard de Thocottys of Great-Brotton, who bound himself and his heirs, to find a lamp always burning before the high altar, during the time that mass was celebrating.* Divine service is still performed at Newton and Nunthorp, as well as at Ayton: Newton is now a parish church.

The neighbouring churches of *Kirkby* and *Ingleby* were granted by Adam de Ingleby; the latter in 1154, the former a few years earlier. Both donations were valuable. Ingleby church, which was called St. Andrews, was endowed by Henry, chaplain of Stokesley, with some land and woods at Ingleby, to find a light, and incense, for the altar.† This church has been rebuilt. An ancient monument of William de Wreltop, a chaplain, lies on the outside, at the

* R. f. 68, 140, 117. Ch. p. 73, 78, 124, 163. Richard empowered the abbot and convent to distrain on him, or his heirs, if they failed to maintain the lamp; and he bound himself and his heirs never to sell the land at Brotton, lest the light should fail. Some curious stipulations of a similar kind occur in the Register. Richard de Folketun a tenant in Scarborough, engaged, that if he fell behind with his rent, he should lodge and entertain the abbot's messenger, till payment was made. R. f 22. Ch. p. 204.—Sir William Malebise, who was patron of Little Ayton chapel about the year 1215, engaged that it should not prejudice the mother church of Ayton. R. f. 116. Ch. p. 159. Charlton calls Sir William the builder of that chapel; he might rebuild it, but it was founded many years before, being named in the memorial, f. 140.

† R. f. 18, 20, 58. Ch. p. 116, 193. In the year 1304, John de Enyrs renounced the claim which he pretended to have to the advowson of the church of Kirkby. R. f. 118. Ch. p. 232.

east end:* near which is another monument, with a recumbent figure, and neat canopy, supposed to belong to one of the Eure family. Kirkby church, dedicated to St. Augustine, retained its antique form till last year, when it was taken down and rebuilt. The windows contained a few fragments of painted glass, on one of which was represented an angel. In the south wall, on the outside, were two rude figures; one a knight on horseback, the other a clerical figure, with uplifted hands, and apparently holding the sacred bread in the left hand and the chalice in the right. In the church-yard is a monument of a knight and his lady: the figures have suffered by time, but still more by the recent rebuilding of the church.

The church of *Seamer*, near Scarborough, was the gift of William de Percy, the son of Alan.† In 1823, near 200 years after the original grant, this church was appropriated to Whitby abbey, by the archbishop, in virtue of letters apostolical from the pope, and was made a perpetual vicarage. The vicar was to be presented by the abbot and convent, and was to have for his support all the tithes and offerings of Irton; the tithes and offerings of Osgodby, Cayton, Kynardby, and Depedale; with the small tithes of Seamer and Ayton; but the tithes of lamb and wool, of the last two places, were reserved to the monastery. The vicar was also to have half the glebe, with part of the church lands in Cayton, Osgodby, and Ayton; for which lands he was to pay no tithes, while he held

* The inscription on the breast of the figure is, WILLS. DE WRELTON CAPELLAN. † R. f. 7, 12. Ch. p. 87, 89.

them himself; nor was he to pay tithe for his cattle. The vicar was to pay all synodals and ordinary burdens, and one fourth of all extraordinary subsidies; but the monks were bound to repair the chancel.* At the same time, the tithes of corn and hay, throughout most of the parish, were reserved to them; as appears, both from the ordinance of the archbishop, and from the Rolls. From the Roll for 1460—1, we also learn, that there was a chapel at *Cayton* in this parish, and another at *Ayton*, near Hutton-Bushell.†

Hutton-Bushell church was granted by Alan de Bushell, before 1130.§ In 1364, it was divided into two, by Arnald, archbishop of Anxitan, the pope's chamberlain; when Richard de Huley, the one rector, was taxed for tithes at 18 marks, for his part; and Richard de Taunton, the other, was taxed at 20 marks; besides a pension of 40s. to the abbey, of which each was to pay one half.‖ In 1453, the archbishop appropriated both parts to the abbey; the appropriation to take place on the death or resignation of the then rectors; and in 1458, the rectors being dead or removed, it was constituted a perpetual vicarage, and John Ellerton was appointed vicar; having all the profits of the living assigned to him, except the tithes of corn and hay, which were allotted to the abbey.‡

* Burton's Monast. p. 75, 76. † Cayton is now a parish. The chapel of Ayton still remains, and bears the marks of antiquity. § R. f 62. Ch. p. 83. Alan was the son of Reginald de Bushell and Alice de Percy, niece to the first William de Percy, and sister (as is supposed) to William the abbot. R. f. 139. Ch. p. 70, 71, 83. ‖ R. f. 81. Ch. p. 251. The taxation for tithes here mentioned, appears to have been for the archbishop's tithes. ‡ Burton, p. 73. Roll for 1460—1. Robert Ellerton, bursar for that year, was perhaps related to this vicar, and to Dr. Hugh Ellerton, who was then abbot.

To another branch of the Percy family, viz. Robert, the son of Pichot de Percy, our abbey was indebted for the church of *Queen's Sutton*, or *Sutton upon Derwent*, which was granted about the year 1144.* The abbot and convent parted with the advowson of this church in the fourteenth century; but continued to receive the annual pension of 6s. 8d.†

About the same period our monastery obtained the church of *Slingsby*, in Rydale. It was the gift of William Hay, and Robert Chambord; whose donation was confirmed by Mascy de Curcy.§—The church of *Burniston*, in Richmondshire, was given at the same era, by that valiant knight, Sir Alan de Munceus, and Ingeram his son. ‖ The church of *Huntington*, near York, has been already noticed:‡ it was granted by the abbey of Evesham in 1160, and was transferred, in the 14th century, to the vicars choral of York, to whom it was appropriated in 1354.**—The church of *Skirpenbeck*, formerly mentioned, was obtained a few years earlier than Huntington.††

* R. f. 12, 140. Ch. p. 104. † Burton (Monast. p. 76) states that they sold the advowson to the lords Mowbray, after the middle of the 14th century; but, at the beginning of that century, the right of presentation was vested in the canons of St. Peter's at York; as appears by a deed in the Register, dated in 1305, certifying that the abbot and convent, having then presented Mr. John de Wodhows to the living of Sutton, had encroached on the rights of the canons, to whom they surrendered all further claim to the advowson. R. f. 87. Ch. p. 232. § R. f. 20. Ch. p. 123, 124. Charlton makes Chambord only the confirmer of the grant; but it is obvious that he was a principal donor, both from the memorial (f. 140), and from the charter of Henry II. f. 51. Ch. p. 138. ‖ R. f. 140. Ch. p. 71, 132. ‡ See p. 289. ** R. f. 54. Ch. p. 136. Burton's Monast. p. 73. In 1438, it was exempted from archdeaconal visitations.—Charlton dates the first charter in 1165; but Roger, who granted it, was not abbot of Evesham after 1160. Lel. Coll. VI. p. 162. †† See p. 317, R. f. 120. Ch. p. 118,

It is scarcely necessary to notice the chapel and cemetery of *Rowell*, or *Rothwell*, in the diocese of Lincoln, given nearly at the same period by Hugh Malet, saving the tenure of Geoffrey, the then chaplain, who was to retain the chapel during life.* Enough has been said of the church of *Crossby Ravenswarth*, granted by Thorphine about the year 1140.† The chapel of *Revegil*, subject to that church, has also been mentioned.§ The chapels of *Harlsey* and *Carleton*, in Cleveland, may be added to this long catalogue. ‖

In the appropriated churches, Whitby, Hackness, Middleburgh, Ingleby, Semar, and Hutton-Bushell, part of the tithes and dues were set apart for the support of the vicar, and the rest were received by the monks. The other churches paid an annual pension.‡ The churches and chapels near Whitby, or Hackness, would be supplied on easy terms, as there were so many clergymen about the monastery, waiting to be presented to the next vacant livings. The chapels had no perpetual minister but were supplied from time to time by chaplains or curates; as appears from the inquisition relating to that of Fyling.**

* R. f. 13. Ch. p. 122. The clause in favour of Geoffrey is similar to one in the charter for Semar church, that benefice being secured by William de Percy to his chaplain Richard. R. f. 12. Ch. p. 89. † See p. 318, 334, &c. R. f. 9, 96. Ch. p. 100. § See p. 331. ‖ These chapels are not in the Register; but are given by Burton on Ecton's authority. Monast. p. 71, 72, 85. ‡ The pensions paid in 1363, by the churches in York diocese, were as follows: Hutton-Bushell, 40s. (before it was appropriated); Sutton on Derwent, 6s. 8d.; Slingsby, 13s. 4d; Huntington, 13s. 4d.; Kirkby, 66s. 8d.; and Skirpenbeck, 13s. 4d. R. f. 82. Ch. p. 250. ** R. f. 84. Ch. p. 249.

CHAP. XIII.

OFFICERS OF THE MONASTERY.—MONKS—EMINENT MEN—STATE OF LEARNING, AND OF RELIGION.

FOR some time after the revival of our monastery, the chief officer was denominated *the prior;* but, from the time of William de Percy, he was distinguished by the title of *abbot.** This chief officer was elected by the *chapter*, that is, by the whole body of the monks, officers included, assembled in the chapter-house for that purpose on a day appointed. In general the election was free; but, in some cases, as at the election of Benedict's successor, the archbishop interposed his authority.† Sometimes the choice fell on one of their own number; at other times they chose an officer or monk of some other monastery. An instance occurs, in which the whole chapter, prior to the election, entered into engagements relative to the measures which should be henceforth pursued, by themselves in general, and especially by the abbot who should be chosen. This was in 1393, after the death of the abbot John de Richmond, and immediately before the Election of Peter de Hertilpole, who was himself one of the chapter. A deed was executed at their desire by Nicholas Broun of Esyngwalde,

* *Prior* signifies *first; abbot* denotes *father.* † See p. 261.

seamless coat of Christ, the mitre, the crosier, the gloves, the ring, and the sandals; besides his parliamentary robes, worn when he took his seat among the spiritual lords.*

Our abbots enjoyed parliamentary honours during three reigns, if not longer. The abbot of Whitby was summoned to parliament in the 49th year of Henry III, the 12th of Edward I, and the 14th of Edward II.† The honour of sitting in parliament was afterwards limited to what were called the *mitred abbots*, among whom the abbot of Whitby was not included.—There was, however, a kind of *spiritual* parliament, or convocation, which the abbots and priors of the Benedictine or black monks held for the government of their own order, after the year 1337. In that year pope Benedict XII issued a bull, by which all the black monks, so called on account of their dress, were incorporated into a body, and empowered to hold general or provincial chapters, for the exercise of discipline, and for enforcing regulations tending to the benefit of their order. The provincial chapter for England usually met at North-

* Fosbrooke, I. p. 122, 123. † Appendix to Stevens' Monast. II. p. 15. The abbots of Whitby might be summoned on other occasions; yet no other writs of summons are extant.—In the note on p. 265, I have assigned the honour of first sitting in parliament to the abbot Robert de Langtoft, being misled by Charlton (p. 219); but as the first parliament alluded to (the writs of summons to which are the oldest extant) was summoned to meet in January 1265 (See Rapin, I. p. 340. Notes.), and as it was not till that year that Robert de Langtoft became abbot, the honour must belong to his predecessor William de Brinston; especially when it is remembered, that the year was not then reckoned to begin till Lady-day. William de Kirkham was the abbot summoned in 12 Edward I; and Thomas de Malton in 14 Edward II.

ampton, where they held their first meeting in 1338, the second in 1340, the third in 1343; and their subsequent meetings in every third year. Our abbot generally appointed a proctor to attend for him, instead of attending in his own person.*

Next in dignity to the abbot was the *prior;* who had also his servants and his horses, and held the first place in the choir, chapter, and refectory; though he had not offices allotted to himself. He presided in the monastery during a vacancy, and in the occasional absence of the abbot.† Under him was the *subprior,* whose power was also considerable. He was charged with keeping a strict watch on the conduct of the monks in the dormitory, and the refectory; and had the custody of the keys of several offices: he also officiated for the prior in his absence.§

* Wilk. Concil. II. p. 585—613, 626, 656, 658, 713. III. p. 420, 463. The abbots of York, St. Alban's, and Westminster, took an active part in the business of those meetings. The minutes of their proceedings bear a strong resemblance to those of the meetings of synods and general assemblies in the church of Scotland.—Previous to the bull of pope Benedict there had been provincial chapters for Canterbury and York separately; but not in so regular a form.—All the abbots of the order, the priors of such monasteries as had no abbots, and also the priors or superiors (under the bishops) of the canons of cathedral churches of the same order, were required to attend the provincial chapter, by themselves or their proctors. Absentees, who did not send a proctor, nor give a sufficient excuse for absence, were fined double the sum which their expenses in attending would have amounted to. At each meeting, *visiters* were appointed to inspect the monasteries throughout the different districts, and give in their report to the next meeting; and fines were imposed on such as neglected to fulfil the appointment. *Presidents* and *preachers* were also nominated for the next meeting; and *committees* were occasionally appointed for revising the rules of the order, and for various other purposes. The regular canons of St. Augustine were placed under similar rules by another bull of Benedict XII. Wilk. Concil. II. p. 629—651. † Roll for 1394—6. Fosbrooke, I. p. 142, &c. § Fosbrooke, I. p. 151, 152.

In the next rank may be placed the *cellarer*, or rather the *cellarers*, for there were two officers of that name belonging to our abbey, and to other large monasteries. The one was simply called *the cellarer*, or sometimes the *general* or *outward cellarer (cellerarius generalis vel exterior)*, by way of distinction. He was the grand steward of the convent, who superintended their estates and possessions, and managed the transactions relating to them. He conducted sales, leases, and purchases of property, and did homage for the lands that were not exempted from secular service.* He had his riding horses, and a page to wait on him, and there was a *subcellarer* to assist him.—The other officer of that name was the *kitchen cellarer (cellerarius coquinæ)*, or steward of the kitchen. It was his province to provide all the supplies for the kitchen and the refectory, to take charge of all the stores, and give them out as occasion required. He was the master of the household who supplied the whole convent with food, fuel, vessels, and all things necessary for their entertainment. Of course he behoved to be an adept in the system of fasts and feasts, to know by what kind of meat or drink each day was to be kept holy.†

The *precentor*, or *chantor*, was another officer of high rank. He conducted the service of the choir, and

* See p. 354. (Note †) R. f. 16, 55. Ch. p. 97, 98. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 149. † Dugd. *ibid.* Fosbrooke, I. p. 156, 157. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 349. In some abbeys there was but one cellarer; but the *cellarer* and the *kitchen cellarer* of Whitby are clearly distinguished, both in the Rolls and in the Register. Roll for 1394—5. R. f. 130. Ch. p. 256.

had the charge of the missals, breviaries, and other service-books, and distributed the robes at festivals. The choristers and organists were under his direction; he had the custody of the seal and the chapter-book; and all the concerns of the library were intrusted to his care.* He was assisted by the *subchantor*.—The *sacrist*, or *secretary*, who was aided by a *subsacrist*, was of equal dignity. All the ornaments of the church, and furniture of the altar, the chalices, the vestments, the candles, the communion bread and wine, with other things relating to the service of the church, were under his inspection: and he had also the charge of the bells and of the cemetery, and superintended the burial of the dead.—The *treasurer*, or *bursar*, had an important trust, as he received and disbursed the public money, and kept all the accounts. He was allowed a horse, which the duties of his office rendered highly necessary, as we find from the Rolls that he had numerous journeys to perform for receiving and paying money, and frequently attended at synods, convocations, and on other public occasions.—The *chamberlain (camerarius)* took care of the dormitory and its appurtenances, provided the wearing apparel of the brethren, furnished caps, spurs, and other travelling apparatus for such as were going a journey, and also attended to the shoeing of the riding horses.—The *refectioner*, as his name imports, managed the concerns of the refectory, having under his charge the tables, table-linen, dishes, plate, and other articles

* See p. 355, 356. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 348.

belonging to that office; which he set in order at the beginning, and removed at the end, of each entertainment; in which duties he had servants to assist him.—The *master-builder*, or *master of the work (magister operis)* surveyed all the buildings, and ordered the necessary repairs. The *hostler*, or *hospitaller*, was employed in attending to the *guest-house*, and providing for the entertainment of strangers. The *infirmarer*, agreeably to his name, was governor of the infirmary, and waited on the sick; for whose comfort he was allowed a kitchen and cook apart from those of the convent. Some medical skill would be an almost indispensable qualification for this office.—The *almoner* disbursed the charities of the house; and he not only distributed to the poor at the gates of the monastery, but was directed to seek out the abodes of the sick and the needy, that he might visit and relieve them. In such excursions, however, he was forbidden to associate with women, lest those visits of mercy should be employed to cover intrigues of love.*

All these officers, except the subcellarer and the refectioner, are mentioned in our records; and all of them, not excepting even the master-builder, were chosen from among the monks, either by the appointment of the abbot, or rather by the election of the whole chapter. There was also in our abbey another officer, a member of the chapter, entitled *the master of the blessed virgin's altar*. He conducted the service of the virgin Mary, which, as was formerly noticed,

* Wilk. Concil. I. p. 348—350. Burton, p. 64, 65. Fosbrooke, I. p. 159, &c.

must have been carried on in the north transept of the abbey church.*

Besides the offices held by the monks themselves, there were several others that were filled by laymen. Of this number was the office of the *head cook*, who seems to have been sometimes called *coquinarius*, or

* See p. 342, 352. Notes. Other monasteries had also altars to the blessed virgin. Wilk. Concil. II. p. 248.—In the contest with the church of Carlisle (see p. 338) the abbot, prior, sacrist, treasurer, precentor, cellarer, and chamberlain, were all excommunicated. The subprior, who escaped the sentence himself, was present when it was published at Appelby. R. f. 111. Ch. p. 216, 217. At the election of an abbot in 1393 (see p. 383, 384.) the chapter consisted of the following officers and other monks; "John Allerton, the prior; Thomas de Hawkesgarth, prior of Midelesburgh; Peter de Hertilpole, bursar (elected abbot); Reginald de Esyngton, sacrist; Robert de Boynton, subsacrist; William de Ormesby, almoner; Stephen de Ormesby, infirmarer; William de Yarme; William de Bokyngham, master-builder; Robert de Middillesburg, kitchen-cellarer; Thomas de Hakeness, chamberlain; William de Dalton, cellarer; Thomas de Bolton (afterwards abbot); Thomas de Elyngton, precentor; Roger de Pykryng, master of the blessed virgin's alter; John de Ryston, hostler; Thomas de Butterwik, subchantor; John de Whitteby; William de Garton; and Hugh de Garton, monks." R. f 130. Ch. p. 256.—The members of the chapter in this list seem to be arranged according to seniority, as some monks without office have the precedence of some of the officers, and some officers of an inferior class are placed before others of a higher description. The cellarer, Dalton, was afterwards bursar, as he filled that office in 1396. Charlton calls him *Salton*, a mistake arising from the strong resemblance between *D* and *S* in the M.S. capitals. He has made a worse blunder in regard to Stephen the *infirmarer*, whom he calls the *farmer!* The term *firmarius*, used for *infirmarius*, misled him. This Stephen continued to hold his office in 1394—5; for, in the Roll of expenditure for that year, there is a charge for medicines bought for his use: "Item pro diversis medicinis domino Stephano...ij *s.*"—In some abbeys there was a *pitanciary*, who distributed *pietancies* or *pittances*, allowances occasionally given above the common provisions. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 148. Burton, p. 64. Tanner, p. xxix. The *circumitores*, or *visiters*, who went round to inspect the different offices at stated hours, were probably not fixed officers, but appointed in rotation. Wilk. Concil. I. p. 347.—There was an officer called the *terrer of the house* in some monasteries; with several others which it is unnecessary to name.—The officers inferior to the abbot, at least such of them as were monks, were called *obedientiaries*. Wilk. Concil. II. 719, 720, &c.

kitchener. This office, from the time of the abbot Richard I, was held hereditarily, at 4s. wages *per annum*, by one Robert and his sons, to whom the surname *Cook* was therefore appropriated. He was called the *cook of the convent.* In this department, there was also the *common cook*, who perhaps prepared for the other servants, and for strangers; besides the *abbot's cook*, and the *cook of the infirmary.**—The office of the *porter*, who had usually a *subporter* under him, was a charge of considerable magnitude, where a strict observation of all who came in and went out was required.—The *pages* and *valets* have already been noticed. They appear to have been numerous; and it may be observed, that besides those who attended on individual officers, as the abbot, the prior, and the cellarer, there were some who had particular departments allotted to them, as the *page of the hall*, and the *page of the stable.* This last office would be very laborious, and must have required the assistance of several servants, as there were not

* The cook of the infirmary is not named in the Rolls, being perhaps paid out of the special revenues assigned to the infirmary; for it is likely that the rents paid for the support of particular offices were not entered in the *compotus.* In the charter granted to Robert the cook, and his heirs, his office is styled "magnum officium coquinæ nostræ"—"the great office of our kitchen." R. f. 70. Ch p. 115. In 1394—5, the salary of the cook of the convent, perhaps a descendant of his, was 5s. He was allowed a horse, a privilege which seems to have been also granted to the common cook, as well as to the abbot's cook. The salary of the abbot's cook was 20s.: that of the common cook 6s 8d. Probably the cook of the convent had many perquisites, which compensated for the smallness of his salary. Charlton's notion, that all the families of the name of *Cook*, throughout the kingdom, sprung from Robert the cook of Whitby, is truly ridiculous. Were there no *cooks* in other monasteries, not to speak of the *cooks* of kings, noblemen, and gentlemen, that the rise of the surname should be limited to Whitby?

only horses kept for the higher officers in the monastery, but, it would seem, for any of the monks who had occasion to travel. The pages, valets, and some others, were furnished with liveries.

Many other servants, or inferior officers, occur in the Rolls, and in the Register; as the *baker*, the *brewer*, the *barber (barbitonsor)*, the *miller*, the *huntsman*, the *poulterer*, the *swineherd*, &c. concerning whom we may remark, that most, if not all of them, resided without the gates of the monastery, as there were some of them who had wives and children. The baker, poulterer, miller, and huntsman, had horses allowed them. No mention is made of the *gardener* of our abbey:* but there was another officer who must not be omitted, *the client of the fish-house*, who superintended a most important branch of the revenue of the monks, and received a large salary.

The *seneschall* was a respectable officer, who assisted in the abbot's court, and was an *agent* for the monastery in conducting the business which they had with the king, or in the civil courts. He was a kind of *sheriff*, or *high constable*, for Whitby Strand. Besides this officer, our monastery had *attorneys*, *bailiffs*, *underbailiffs*, *market-clerks*, *foresters*, *verdurers*, and other servants of a similar description, all of whom received stated salaries, and several of whom were supplied with liveries.†

* At Evesham, the almoner had the charge of the garden. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 148. The infirmarer would have been a more proper person, as he had herbs to procure for the use of the sick. † Fosbrooke, I. 166. Roll for 1394—5. Register, *passim*.

Among the retainers of the abbey may be noticed the *priests, chaplains, deacons,* and *subdeacons,* who assisted in the devotional services of the monks, and supplied the neighbouring churches and chapels. In the Roll for 1394–5, is an entry of 6s. 8d. wages "to our vicar," and the same sum allowed him "for meat, bread, and beer:" this was probably the vicar of St. Mary's.* Numbers of clergymen resided within the precincts of the abbey, as in other great monasteries; so that they did not need to officiate constantly, but took their turns weekly, and he who conducted the service for the week was called the *hebdomadary;* a name which was also applied to chantors or choristers, and to other office-bearers, when they ministered weekly in their turns.†

The number of the MONKS themselves varied much at different periods. It is probable that, in the Saxon era, there were some hundreds of religious in Streoneshalh and its dependant cells; but, after the conquest, the number scarcely exceeded forty. As thirteen formed a proper convent, on a small scale, the full complement of Whitby abbey seems to have been three thirteens, or thirty-nine. Thus we find 38 brethren in the convent on the death of the abbot Richard I, and the same number at the entrance of his successor; so that there were 39, including the abbot.§ It is not clear, whether that number comprehended the monks

* See Wilk. Concil. I. p. 693. † Ibid. p 329, 351, 358, 359, &c. Fosbrooke, I. p. 26. § See p. 262, 263, 369 The number was only 36 at the admission of Richard I; but if we add the two who conducted him, who perhaps are not included, the number will be the same.

in the cells and hermitages, or not; but I am inclined to think that this was the complement of Whitby only. In after times, the establishment was greatly reduced; for at the election in 1393, the chapter consisted of no more than 20, of whom 15 were officers and only 5 private monks.* The number of monks at Whitby was still less at the time of the dissolution, and those of Middleburgh had then dwindled away to two or three, while a similar falling off appeared in the other cells.† This reduction may be partly accounted for, by supposing, that in proportion as the light of the reformation dawned, the monastic life fell into disrepute: but it may perhaps be ascribed with more truth to the increase of luxury and corruption among the monks themselves; whose policy it was, to straiten the door of admission to their order, and limit their number, that they might be able to live in higher style. In vain were bulls, canons, and decrees promulgated, requiring the original number to be kept up;§ those barriers proved too feeble to stem the swelling tide of corruption. Funds which would have

* See p. 391. Note. The *subprior* is not in the list. Perhaps the office was then vacant; or that officer may have been sent to Middleburgh, to govern that cell in the absence of the prior, who attended the election at Whitby. As the prior of Middleburgh voted on that occasion, we may infer, that the officers and monks at the cells, were considered as belonging to the chapter of Whitby; and, *vice versa*, that if any members, usually residing at Whitby, happened to visit the cells, they had a right to vote in their local chapters. † Burton, p. 81, 84. Tanner, p. 656. I find no certain documents to determine the number of monks at each place. Charlton (p. 286) says, that there were 18 or 19 at Whitby; 3 or 4 at Hackness; and at Middleburgh, Godeland, and York, 2 or 3 each: but I apprehend that there was not one in Godeland at the dissolution, nor for many years before. See p. 361. § Wilk. Concil. II. p. 17, 611, 641, &c.

supported hundreds of religious in the days of Ælfleda, and would have sufficed for scores even in the times of the abbots Benedict, and Richard, were scarcely adequate to maintain the pomp and luxury of twenty, encumbered with crowds of domestics, and living like the disciples of Epicurus.

The privilege of being admitted a monk was so much valued, that it was frequently procured by interest or by money ;* nor could it be attained in any instance without passing through tedious forms, adapted to try the patience and perseverance of the candidates. They remained for a year in a state of probation, during which time they were called *novices*, and usually lived in a house or office appropriated for their reception, under the discipline of an experienced monk called the *master of the novices*. This master, who must be added to the list of monastic officers given above, had also under his tuition the boys presented to the monastery by their parents, and educated there, to whom the name *novices* was likewise given. These youths, being taught to sing and chant, were employed as choristers, under the direction of the precentor, but could not become *professed* monks under 18 years of age.†

The *discipline* of the Benedictines was extremely strict, requiring from the monks and inferior officers the most abject submission to their superiors. A chapter was held every morning, when cognizance was taken of every transgression or neglect that had

* Ibid. I p 591. Fosbrooke, II. p. 61, &c. † Wilk. Concil. I. p. 354—357, 592. II. p. 15, 606, &c.

occurred, and great offences were punished with mortifying penances, and even with corporal chastisement. The unruly were sometimes removed to the cells, or to other monasteries of the same order; the incorrigible were, after sufficient trial, degraded and expelled. Such at least were the rules; but discipline was seldom rigidly exercised, the rulers being often the greatest delinquents.*

The *dress* of the monks of this order is well known to have been black; for which reason, as has been said, they were called *black monks*. It consisted chiefly of a long loose robe or gown, with a hood or cowl of the same stuff. They usually wore a kind of boots. Among the monks, and nuns also, before the reformation, luxury in dress was a prevailing evil.†—Luxury in *food* prevailed to a still greater degree. Loud complaints were made on this subject; and the accounts of the expenditure of our monks testify that such complaints were not unfounded. They had abundance of wine, used immense quantities of ale or beer, had all varieties of flesh, fish, and fowl, and almost all sorts of fruits, spices, and sweetmeats.—Nor were they destitute of amusements, as appears from the sums which they gave to minstrels, harpers, pipers, players, and others who contributed to their pleasures. So that, on the whole, they cannot be charged with monkish austerity.§

The chief *employment* of the monks, agreeably to their profession, consisted in *religious* exercises, or

* Ibid I. p. 352, 353, 592. II. 246, 594. † Ibid. II. p. 607, 244 I p. 590. III. p 363, &c. § Roll for 1394—5. Wilk. Concil, I, p. 593. II. p. 16. Fosbrooke, II. p. 16, 17.

exercises so called. They had prayers seven times a day, at stated hours;* with a number of additional services on sundays and festivals. The services belonging to the festivals, as well as those appointed for particular occasions, were greatly diversified, and accompanied with a vast variety of forms and ceremonies. The reader, I believe, will readily excuse me from attempting to lead him through the intricate labyrinth of this technical devotion. If he wish to be acquainted with the multifarious services and movements of the monks; to know what psalms they had to sing, and what prayers to repeat; how oft they were to say *benedicite*, and how oft *miserere;* when they were to speak, and when to be silent; how many times they were to bow, or cross, or kneel, or fall down; when the bell was to be rung, and when the table to be struck; who was to officiate in this service, and who in that; how religiously they were to stand or sit, to eat or drink; and with what devotion they were to be shaved, or bled;—let him "plod his weary way" through Lanfranc's Constitutions, contained in Wilkins' Concilia, or let him labour through the dry, but less prolix, details of those services in Fosbrooke's Monachism.

* *Mattins* and *lauds*, at midnight; *prime*, at 6 A. M.; *thirds*, at 9; *sixths*, at noon; *nones*, at 2 or 3 P. M.; *vespers*, at 6, but oftener at 4; and *complin*, about 7.—These seven canonical hours were known in the Saxon era by the names, Undernang, Primsang, Undernsang, Middæghsang, Nonsang, Æfensang, and Nihtsang. Fosbrooke, I p. 20, 21.—It was usual in monasteries to have a covered passage from the dormitory into the church, for the convenience of the monks attending the midnight service. In all probability, there was a communication of this kind between the dormitory of our abbey and the south transept of the church.

The ceremonies attending the *funeral* of a monk are also too tedious to be enumerated. If the deceased died early in the morning, he was buried the same day; if not, the day following. Among the apparatus of superstition, used at the grave, were tapers, candles, holy water, a cross, a censer with incense, and a written absolution, which was read by the brethren, and then laid on the breast of the deceased, as his passport for heaven. For thirty days, mass was said for his soul, his grave was daily sprinkled with holy water, and his allowance of bread, beer, and meat, was given to the almoner to be distributed to the poor. The anniversary of his obit was commemorated by a similar distribution, as well as by appropriate religious rites. The services for the death of an abbot, were of course more numerous and more lengthened.*

The EMINENT MEN who arose in our monastery, during its second period, are by no means so numerous as those who appeared in it during the Saxon age.

* Wilk. Concil. I. p. 368—360. II. p. 248. Fosbrooke, II. p. 118—121. At Evesham the service, or at least the distribution of alms, whether for an abbot or a monk, was continued a whole year; if they resided at Evesham: if they belonged to the chapter, but resided in one of the cells, or elsewhere, the time for a private monk was 30 days. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 149. Sometimes the same service was performed for laymen who had been benefactors to the abbey. Thus Anfrid de Cancy gave our monastery 30 acres of land in Skirpenbeck, on condition that, on the anniversary of the death of any one belonging to his hall, there should be in the church of Whitby the same service, and bread, and wax (or tapers), which a deceased monk had on the day of his obit, according to the custom of the place.' —"tali condicione, quod curia mea, in die anniversarii sui, habebit in prædictâ eccl'ia de Whiteby totum servicium suum et panem et ceram, quæ habet monachus defunctus in die obitus sui, secundum consuetudinem ejusdem loci." R. f 120 Charlton (p. 121.) has read "*cervisiam* suam et panem et *cetera*." I am not quite sure that my reading is more correct than his.

A few have been named already; and only two or three more require to be noticed.

Robert de Alnetto, master of the hospital at Spital-Brigg, and founder of the hermitage, or cell, at Hode, has already been mentioned.* He was a Norman of noble birth, being a near relation to Gundrey Mowbray, under whose patronage he settled at Hode. When that place was made an abbey, in 1138, through the bounty of that lady and her son Roger, he still continued in it under Gerald, the first abbot; and probably abode there till his death.†

St. William, who shared with St. Mary the patronage of the church at Hode, is thought to have been a Whitby *saint;* and probably was either the first William de Percy, or his nephew the abbot, who died a little before that church was founded.§—At the same period arose another *saint*, to whom Whitby had an undisputed claim, the famous *St. Robert of Knaresborough*, as he is commonly styled. This Robert was a monk of Whitby, and appears to have resided in the cell of Fishergate in York, in the year 1132. At that time, some of the monks of St. Mary's abbey, disgusted with the relaxed state of discipline in their own order, resolved to adopt the order of the Cistercians, who had recently established a monastery at Rievaux. For this purpose they left their own monastery, ‖ when they were joined by Robert; and having

* See p. 362. It is scarcely necessary to notice, that *spital* is a common contraction for *hospital*. † Dugd. Monast. I. 1028. The record calls him either the uncle or the nephew of lady Gundrey, "avunculum suum sive nepotem." § See p. 362, 363. ‖ It was with great difficulty that they effected their escape from St. Mary's

lived some time in York, protected and supported by archbishop Thurstan, they settled under his patronage at Fountains; where, about the beginning of the year 1133, they founded an abbey, which soon became illustrious. Robert, the Whitby monk, was one of the most distinguished of this fraternity; and his great piety soon recommended him to a higher station. Ranulph de Merlay, a Northumbrian nobleman, having paid a visit to Fountains, resolved to establish a monastery of the same order on his own estates; and when he had prepared a suitable building at a place which received the name of *New-Minster*, near his castle of Morpeth, a colony of monks from Fountains removed thither, in 1138, under the conduct of Robert, who was chosen their abbot. "Many things worthy of remembrance," says the writer of this account, "have we heard of this man. He was unassuming in his

abbey. The abbot Geoffrey (the same person whom Charlton fancies to be Gosfrid de Percy), with the other monks, did every thing to prevent their separation, regarding them as scismatics and enemies to order: and when by the direction of Thurstan, who favoured the views of the seceders, a chapter was held to decide the matter, the archbishop was stopped in the door and refused admittance, unless he would consent to leave his clergy behind him; the chapter which was crowded with monks, many of whom had come from other monasteries, to lend their aid against the separatists, behaved in the most outrageous manner, and seemed ready to attack the archbishop *vi et armis*. Thurstan immediately interdicted their church, upon which they resolved to avenge themselves on the reforming brethren, and crying out, *Take them, take them*, began to lay violent hands on them. The latter clung to the archbishop, who brought them out with much difficulty, by the aid of his company, the abbot and his party pursuing them to the church doors, in great rage, and bawling after them, *Take the rebels; seize the traitors*. This disgraceful uproar gave rise to fierce animosities. The prior Richard was at the head of the reformers, whose number was thirteen, a proper number for a convent. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 733—741.

demeanour, gentle in his manners, merciful in reproving and punishing, and singular for the holiness of his life: he governed and profited his convent many years, as a pious father and excellent shepherd, and closed a holy life by a holier end. The blessed Godric (as we read in his life) saw, one night while at prayers, the soul of this saint, released from the flesh, carried to heaven by the hands of angels."* By this narrative, the conclusion of which reminds us of the death of lady Hilda, it would seem that this abbot ended his days at New-Minster. Other writers, who have clothed his life with fables, tell us that he spent the latter part of his days at Knaresborough, where he lived as a hermit, and wrought a number of striking miracles. But on such legends it is needless to dwell.†

The claims of our abbey to *John of Brompton*, the historian, are rather dubious.§ If it had the honour of producing him, he must have changed his religious order, like St. Robert; for Joreval, of which he was abbot, belonged also to the Cistercians. Having little knowledge of his chronicle, I am not prepared to give it that unqualified praise which Charlton bestows. It begins with the arrival of Augustine in 588, and is carried on to the death of Richard I, in 1198. From

* Ibid. p. 743, 800. † He prayed his mother Semenia out of purgatory, tamed an exceeding fierce cow, impounded lord Estoteville's deer, which trespassed on his corn, and when their owner made him a present of them, he yoked them in his plough, and used them as beasts of burden!! Gent's Appendix to his second Vol. p. 1—14. § See p. 342, 343. To the conjecture respecting *De-la-Phe*, I may add, that a family named *Phis* occurs in Dugdale's Monasticon, I. p. 770; and another called *Phitun*, which without the affix *tun*, would be *Phi*, appears in Burton, p. 222, 223. The latter family had the honours of knighthood.

its closing at this date, and its taking no notice of the monastery of Joreval, which was founded before that year, some think that it was not written by Brompton, but merely purchased by him for the use of his abbey. It bears intrinsic evidence, however, that the author had not completed his work, or at least, that he had not brought it down to his own times, as it notices events which occurred in the reign of Edward III. Brompton was abbot of Joreval in 1436.*

The *state of learning* in our monastery must have varied greatly at different periods. Monasteries continued to be repositories for literature, after the conquest as well as before; and though the fame of Whitby, as a seat of learning, did not equal that of the ancient Streoneshalh, yet our monks never wholly overlooked the interests of science and general knowledge. Amidst the numerous devotional exercises of the monastery, some time was expressly allotted for study; and the care which was taken of the library at Whitby, in levying annual assessments for its support, may be regarded as a proof that learning was held in repute. A very ancient catalogue of the books in the library, placed in the front of the Register, and probably drawn up in the time of the abbot Richard II, may serve to throw some light on the state of learning

* Tindal's Rapin, I. p. 483. Note. Chalmers' General Biograph. Diction. VII. p. 46. Willis, in his addenda to Tanner, misled perhaps by the date of the chronicle, places a John of Brompton at Joreval in 1193: hence Burton (p. 373) has given that monastery two abbots of that name, one in 1193, and the other in 1436.—I may take occasion here to remark, that Joreval abbey, like that of Fountains, began with 12 monks and an abbot, the regular number for a small convent. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 873.

in the age to which it belongs.* The library at that period cannot be judged contemptible, if we make due allowance for the darkness of the times, and consider also the great value of books when they were all manuscripts. The books are arranged in two divisions, the *theological*, and the *grammatical*, or classical. The former consists of 60 volumes, some of which comprise two or more works bound together. Most of the authors belong to the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries; as Isidore, Ambrose, Rabanus, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Basil, Cæsarius, Ephraim the Syrian, Rufinus, Cassian, Bede, and several others. Whether the works of the Greek writers were in the original, or only translations, cannot be known. Among the Greek authors Josephus occurs; but there are scarcely any of the early fathers, either Greek or Latin, except Origen; nor do we find any part of the voluminous writings of Augustine, Jerome, or Cyril. There are several volumes of *glosses*, or commentaries, on various portions of scripture; some of decrees, canons, and rules; some of sermons and homilies; but a greater number of the lives of saints. The *grammatical* department contained 27 volumes.

* A copy of this catalogue, accompanied with notes, will be given in the Appendix. Charlton (p. 112) assigns it to the time of the abbot Richard I. The date cannot be certainly fixed; but as it is entered along with the memorial of the possessions, and the memorial relating to Benedict and the two Richards, and is written in a similar hand, it may with safety be ascribed to that era. Yet it could scarcely be so early as the time of Richard I, who died in 1176; for it contains "Excerpts from Gratian's Decrees," and Gratian who compiled those decrees flourished, according to some, under pope Innocent III, whose pontificate began in 1199; or, according to others, under the pontificate of Alexander III, between 1160 and 1181. Ryeaut's Lives of the Popes, p. 257.

Here we have the pleasure of observing the names of Homer, Plato, Cicero, Juvenal, Persius, Statius, and Boetius; accompanied, however, with several names of very inferior note. Virgil, though not named, appears to have had a place in the library, as there is one volume called, "The Bucolics." Some elementary books occur, particularly, "An Introduction to Arithmetic, and an Introduction to Music, in one volume;"* with which the catalogue closes.

In the 14th century, the interests of literature, among the Benedictine monks, were materially promoted by the constitutions of pope Clement V, and of Benedict XII. In every monastery that could support the expense, a master was provided to instruct the monks in what were called the *primitive* sciences, viz. grammar, logic, and philosophy; and the visiters appointed by the provincial chapters were required to see this regulation enforced. It was also ordained, that out of every twenty monks one should be sent to the university, to study theology, or canon law; that in the choice of such students, and in the branch of study assigned to them, regard should be had to their age, their talents, and their natural turn; that the students should have pensions remitted to them from their monasteries; and that such monasteries as neglected to send students, or to pay their pensions regularly, should be fined by the provincial chapters.

* "Proemium Arithmeticæ, et Musicæ proemium, in uno Volumine." Charlton (p. 114.) reads *Præmium* for *Proemium*, and *Mathematicæ* for *Arithmeticæ*. He has made several other mistakes, which will be found corrected in the copy in the Appendix. The catalogue is in four columns; but some of the columns are not filled, blanks being left for inserting the names of new books.

When the students had obtained their degrees, and returned to their monastery, they were allowed to sit next to the prior and subprior.* Dr. Hugh Ellerton, who was abbot of Whitby from 1437 to 1462, was one of those graduated monks, but whether he had been a Whitby student, or had belonged to some other abbey, does not appear.† It was not uncommon for monasteries to recall their students, just as they were about to take their degrees, in order to save the expense of graduation.§ Instances of neglect in sending students, or in paying their pensions frequently occurred. In 1343, it was reported to the provincial chapter that the abbot of Whitby had not sent a student during the first term; this, however, was not attributed to the abbot's neglect, but to the illness of the student who had been chosen. ‖ At the provincial chapter in 1426, it was found that our abbot had not sent a student during a whole year; for which neglect he was fined, along with other six delinquents of the same class.‡ While such measures were taken for the education of the monks, there can be little doubt, that learning flourished more in the monasteries during the 14th and 15th centuries, than in the ages immediately preceding.

When Leland was on his tour through the monasteries, a little before the era of the dissolution,

* Wilk. Concil. II. p. 594—599 III. p. 469. † He is styled Hugh Ellerton S. T. P. i. e. *Sanctæ Theologiæ Professor*. Burton, p. 80. § Wilk. Concil. II. p. 725. ‖ Ibid. p. 714. ‡ Ibid. III. p. 468. One student was the proportion for Whitby. In the Roll for 1394—5, the sum of iij *li.* ij. *s.* v. *d.* is entered as a "contribution for the student."

he searched the library at Whitby, according to his general plan, and made extracts from some of the curious works which it contained: particularly from the "Life of St. Bege," the "Life of St. Hilda," and a "Chronicle by an unknown author." He mentions two or three other books; and, as no volume that he names occurs in the ancient catalogue, except the Life of St. Hilda, we may infer that the library had been much augmented. Indeed, it must then have contained not only more manuscripts, but many printed volumes. As the chronicle was anonymous, we cannot say whether it had been written at Whitby, or purchased from another quarter. From Leland's extracts it appears to have furnished some curious particulars, relating to the ancient state of Britain, the Roman roads, the names and boundaries of the shires, and other topics chiefly geographical.*

Whatever progress our monks may have made in learning, there is reason to believe, that the *state of religion* among them was truly deplorable. I will not say, that they were strangers to true devotion in the era of their poverty, nor venture to assert, that

* Lel. Collect. III. p. 39, 40. A History of Newcastle makes Leland's account of the ancient inscription at Jarrow a quotation from this Whitby Chronicle; but this is a mistake: several subjects intervene between the quotations from that chronicle and the account of Jarrow. The latter place was probably visited by Leland himself. I have not heard whether this Whitby chronicle is extant or not. Probably it perished, with many other valuable works, amidst the havock that took place at the dissolution. Several of the M.S.S. volumes in the Whitby library might be copied by our monks from other works; for in every monastery there was a *scriptorium*, or writing-room, adjoining to the library, in which some of the monks, or writers employed by them, were usually engaged in transcribing books. Many of their writings yet extant, are beautifully written, and richly illuminated.

no real christian could be found among them in the subsequent ages of luxury and affluence: but, it may be safely affirmed, that among the monks of Whitby, as of most other places, genuine religion was extremely rare. This sentiment does not rest merely on the accounts of their crimes, which were currently received at and before the reformation, and of which it would be easy to muster up not a few;* but it is founded on documents supplied by themselves. If we review the facts that have been stated in the foregoing chapters; if we recollect, in particular, the pride and ambition discovered by our monks, even so early as the days of Stephen; if we consider their eagerness for worldly possessions, the methods which they took to obtain and secure them, and their unchristian quarrels with their neighbours at various periods; is it unfair to conclude, that their general spirit was not the spirit of Jesus' religion? It is true, they abounded in prayers, and in formal devotions, but these services were more like the unvaried movements of a machine, than the acts of fervent piety. They performed them, not because they loved to abound in the service of God, but because such were the rules of their order. Their devotions were not a delightful employment, but an unavoidable burden. Hence their well-known eagerness for offices which allowed them to roam abroad, and excused them from constant attendance on their spiritual services;† and hence the penance of

* Fosbrooke has raked together an immense number of stories of this description, some of which are very improper for publication, especially as they are of such a nature, that they could hardly be substantiated by proofs. † Wilk. Concil. II. p. 719, 720, 729—732.

additional prayers, or psalms, inflicted on delinquents. Had religion been their delight, a double portion would have been deemed a privilege; and it could not be imposed as a punishment, but on the supposition that it was an irksome task. Their worship was not the spontaneous devotion of a heart sincerely consecrated to God, but the reluctant homage of a base and selfish mind, willing to perform a mortifying service, for the sake of advantages otherwise unattainable. It was not the cheerful obedience of sons, cordially attached to their heavenly Father, but the painful drudgery of slaves, bending under the yoke at the call of interest.*

This sordid spirit betrayed itself in almost all the transactions of the monks. Though forbidden by their rules to have personal property, their love of money could not be repressed; many of them sought to have even their allowances of clothing and other necessaries given them in money, that they might have some of it to hoard or to spend.† Their avarice was conspicuous in their treatment of the churches belonging to them;

* The idea of prescribing devotional exercises as a *punishment* originated in the Saxon period, and was continued after the conquest. By the Saxon canons, issued under king Edgar, weak persons were allowed to purchase exemption from fasting, either by *psalms* or by *money*. A day's fast might be redeemed by a *penny*, or by 220 *psalms*; seven years fast by singing daily, for 12 months, the whole *psalter* in the morning, the same in the afternoon, and 50 *psalms* more at night! A year's fast might be redeemed by 30 sh. or 30 *masses*, so that masses were valued at 1 sh. each. The great had a more speedy way of doing penance *in kind*, viz. by *substitution;* their retainers fasted for them; and if they had a sufficient number, they could redeem *seven years* fasting in *three days!!* Wilk. Concil. I. p 237, 238. *Psalms* were among the *penances* prescribed to offending monks by Lanfranc's Constitutions. Ibid. p. 360. † Ibid. p. 592. II. p. 16.

the parishes were oppressed, and the curates starved.* Clergymen were engaged to serve them for trifling pensions, in the hope of being preferred to the next vacant benefice; and the advowson of churches was sometimes made an article of gain by selling it for the next turn.† But what else could be expected among the monks, when the great body of the clergy, from the pope down to the lowest chaplains, were, with a few exceptions, infected with the same baneful corruptions! The clergy oppressed the people, the lower clergy were squeezed by their superiors, and the pope laid his ponderous yoke on them all: avarice, extortion, and venality pervaded the whole system of ecclesiastical polity. The Articles relating to the reformation of the church, laid before king Henry V, by the university of Oxford, in 1414, exhibit a shocking picture of the state of religion in that age; and other documents, of unquestionable authority, evince that the colouring is not darker than the truth.§

Nothing can be a clearer proof of the impiety of our

* Ibid. I. p. 383. III. p. 363. † William Foston, who was presented to the living of Crossby-Ravenswarth, before the terrible contest about that church, was a pensioner of our abbey; (See p. 334) yet he might be one of the royal pensioners; for on the admission of a new abbot, the king obliged the abbey to give a corrody or pension to a clergyman of his nomination, till they could promote him to a competent living. Fosbrooke, I. p. 79. Thus at the instance of Henry VII, our abbey gave a pension of 40s. yearly to John Staincton, under the abbot John Benestede in 1508; and on the admission of Thomas Bydnell his successor, in 1514, a pension of 5 marks was granted to Richard Pigot, (on account of the creation of a new abbot), till the abbot should promote the said Richard Pigot to a competent living. Ch. p. 274. In the year following the advowson of the churches of Slingsby and Semar, for one turn, was sold by our abbey to Ybrian Darlay, professor of Divinity, and George Evers, notary-public. Ch. p. 275. § Wilk. Concil. III. p. 360—365.

monks, than the existence of sunday fairs and markets, held by their authority, and under their very eye, for several ages. It appears from the charter of Henry VI, granted in 1445, "that the abbot and convent had been used, from time immemorial, to hold a market at Whitby every Lord's day throughout the year;" and though the market was by that charter transferred to saturday, and an act of parliament was passed three years after, to enforce a similar improvement over all the kingdom, still the act allowed the sale of "necessary victual" on the Lord's day, and suffered the sunday markets to continue in harvest: so that this reformation was very partial.* As the markets at Whitby were under the controul of the abbot and convent, their sanctioning this shocking violation of God's sacred day, demonstrates too forcibly a lamentable want of true religion. It was not so in the days of St. Hilda and St. Cuthbert, when even the queen of Northumberland was not permitted to mount her chariot, or perform a journey, on the Lord's day;† nor did such a contempt of divine institutions appear even in the close of the Saxon period:§ but after the conquest, this impiety grew apace, till, in spite of some laudable attempts to

* Statutes at large, I. p. 618, 619. Charlton, p. 271. Charlton not aware that the word *sabbatum* in old records means *saturday*, has mistranslated Henry's charter, representing him as continuing the weekly market on the Lord's day with a view to *sanctify* it; whereas the charter states, that the king willing to sanctify the Lord's day, allowed the market to be henceforth held on a *saturday*. Bad as the times were, the profanation of the Lord's day was never *recommended*, but merely *tolerated*. It remained for a protestant prince (James I.) to *encourage* and *enforce* this heaven-daring crime, by publishing his infamous *Book of Sports*. †Bed. Vita. S. Cudb. c. 27. §Wilk. Concil. I. p. 203, 207, 220, 273.

stop its progress,* it overspread the whole land like a deluge. The reformation from popery produced a most important change; yet the relics of this irreligion are too visible in the sunday fairs still held in this district, and in the sale of fruit and sweetmeats on the Lord's day, in the streets of Whitby.

While divine institutions were thus trampled under foot, a general decay of morals must necessarily have ensued. The profanation of the sabbath is an inlet to every vice; for he who is accustomed to insult the majesty of heaven; is not likely to respect the rules of temperance, justice, and integrity; and we have undoubted evidence, that sunday fairs not only produced a general neglect of divine worship, but led to the perpetration of innumerable crimes.† The permission of this abuse is a proof that the monks had as little concern for morality as for religion; and that they well deserved those calamities which at last overtook them.

* Ibid. p. 508, 510, 511, 624, 707. III. p. 42, 43. Heylyn in his History of the Reformation, p. 38, speaks of the strict observance of the Lord's day as an *innovation;* but it was only a return to the piety of former times; though it must be owned that the profanation of the christian sabbath had long been sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority. The synod of Exeter, in 1287, permitted the sale of victuals on sunday, after mass. Wilk. Concil. II. p. 145. † In a mandate of the archbishop of Canterbury on this subject, issued in 1359, it is stated as a mournful fact, that while the Lord's day was violated by markets and fairs, it was also profaned by feasting, drunkenness, debauchery, meetings of clubs, quarrels, fightings, and even murders. In some places the whole population flocked to these impious fairs, and the churches were totally deserted. Wilk. Concil. III. p. 43.

CHAP. XIV.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE NEIGHBOURING MONASTERIES.

BEFORE proceeding to notice the dissolution of our abbey, it will be proper to glance at the history of the other religious houses in the district. Their number is too great, to admit a minute account of each of them; especially as a few of them were of such extent, that they might furnish materials for separate histories.

There was no *abbey* in the vicinity of Whitby, within the distance of 25 miles; but there were no less than eight *priories*; besides *cells*, *hospitals*, and *friaries*. Six of the priories were for *nuns*.

Among the priories in the district, GUISBOROUGH is entitled to the first place, not only for its antiquity, but for its importance; for, though it only received the name of a *priory*, it was an establishment of greater magnitude than Whitby itself. This respectable monastery was founded by Robert de Brus, son of that Robert who is mentioned in Domesday. There is a difference of ten years in regard to the date of the foundation, some placing it in 1119, and others in 1129. The latter date is adopted by most writers, but I have no hesitation in saying, that the former is the true date, for Brus's charter states, that it was founded "by the counsel and advice of pope Calixtus

II;" and as this pope finished his course in 1124, the foundation of the monastery cannot be dated so late as 1129.*

This priory was for *regular canons* of the order of St. Augustine. The *secular* canons were clergymen, who were subject to a peculiar discipline, but were called secular, because they had intercourse with the world: the name was especially applied to the assistant clergy in cathedrals. The *regular* canons, so called from their living under monastic rules, were a species of monks; but differed from the monks properly so called, in a nearer approximation to the clerical order. They were, therefore, frequently presented to parochial livings, though not without a dispensation. The habit of the regular canons of St. Augustine was a long black cassock, with a white rochet over it, and above that a black cloak or hood. They had caps on their heads, and they did not shave like the monks, but wore their beards. There were the same officers in their convents, as in those of the monks, they were under a similar discipline, and had their daily, annual, and provincial chapters. Benedict XII, by his *Constitutions* issued in 1339, placed them under the same kind of regulations, as to discipline and learning, as he had previously introduced among the Benedictine monks.†

* Dugd. Monast. II. p. 147. Matth. Westm. II. p. 31. I am surprised that a circumstance so decisive as to the date should have escaped the notice of Tanner, and other diligent inquirers. The erroneous date has been taken from Brompton's Chronicle, into which it must have originally crept through the carelessness of some transcriber.
† Burton's Monast. p. 60, 61. Wilk. Concil. II. p. 629—651.

The first prior of Guisborough was called William; and it is said that he was brother to Robert de Brus, the founder; in the same manner as the prior Serlo, of Whitby, was brother to William de Percy. He was at York in 1132, and accompanied archbishop Thurstan to the chapter of St. Mary's abbey, at the separation of those who founded the abbey of Fountains.* He was cotemporary with our abbot Nicholas; and it was in their time that the dispute arose respecting the tithes of Middleburgh.† He appears to have been succeeded by one Ranulph, who was prior in 1146.§ The latter continued but a short time; for his successor, Cuthbert, witnessed a charter granted to our abbey by the archbishop Henry Murdac, who died in 1153. ‖ Cuthbert seems to have been prior for many years. After him occurs Roaldus, who was cotemporary with our abbot Peter,‡ and died about or before the year 1210, when Lawrence became prior of Guisborough. The latter resigned his office, about the year 1218, and retired into Cumberland.** His successor Michael was cotemporary with our abbot

* See p. 401. Note. Dugd. Monast. I. p. 737. † See p. 327, 328. R. f. 68. Ch. p. 91. § Burton, p. 355. ‖ R. f. 52. Ch. p. 117. Cuthbert was also witness to a charter of St. William, and to one of archbishop Roger, and some others in the Whitby Register. R. f. 10, 53, 58, 60. Ch. p. 84, 118, 124, 142. ‡ Among the witnesses to a charter granted to the nuns of Basedale are "Peter, abbot of Whiteby; Ralph, prior of Whiteby; Ranulph, a monk there; Roald, prior of Gyseburn; Peter, cellarer there; William de Percy, &c." Dugd. Monast. I. 841. ** Lawrence was witness to several Whitby charters, some granted in 1210 or 1211, (R. f. 10, 14, 118. Ch. p. 155, 156.) and some of a later date, R. f. 57, 63, 11, 12. Ch. p. 161, 166, 167. After his resignation he is styled "late prior of Giseburn." He seems to have retired first to York, where he witnessed one of the charters referred to: after which we find him at Carlisle, or in its vicinity.

Roger, from whom he bought the tithes of Upleatham and Marsk. He was judge-delegate in the dispute between Whitby and Shapp, and was also employed to examine the right of Whitby to the church of Crossby-Ravenswarth.* He seems to have died in 1230. As the succeeding priors are not named in our records, it will be sufficient to mention them in a note.†

The possessions of this monastery were very rich and extensive. Its estates indeed were not so compact as those of Whitby abbey, and possibly were not of equal extent, yet they yielded a larger revenue, as they consisted chiefly of rich lands in the plain of Cleveland, and other fertile spots. Part of the property of the canons lay near the Whitby estates; for they had lands at Ugthorpe, Scaling, Danby, and Glazedale, with a right to cut timber in Eskdale forest, near Danby. Some of their possessions were in the county of Durham, in Hertness, at Castle-Eden, and other parts: and some were at a much greater distance; for they had property in Hull, in Lincolnshire, in Cumberland, and even in Scotland. Several lands, or rents, were appropriated to particular offices, as at Whitby. In the list of benefactions we find seven for the support of the *fabric*, or to the office of the

* See p. 328, 331. R. f. 103, &c. Ch. p. 167, 168, &c. † John occurs, 1230; Simon ——; Ralph de Ireton, 1261; Adam de Newland, 1289; William de Middleburgh, ——; Robert de Wilton, 1320; John de Derlington, 1346; John de Hurreworthe, 1391; Walter de Thorpe, 1393; John de Helmesley, 1408; Thomas Twenge, 1436; Richard de Yrton, ——; Thomas Darlington, 1455; John Moreby, 1475; John Whitby, 1491; John Moreby, 1505; Benedict, 1511; William Spires, 1511; James Cockeril S. T. P., 1519; and Robert Pursglove, *alias* Sylvester, who was prior at the dissolution. A great number of these priors were chosen from among the canons themselves.

master-builder; two to the *almshouse;* two to the office of the *pitanciary;* six for maintaining lights before the *great altar,* or St. Mary's; one for a light at St. Thomas's altar; one for a light at St. Katharine's altar;* and one for a light in the *dormitory.* Some donations of villanes, natives, or slaves occur: one was noticed before (p. 276); another was granted by Robert Brus of Annandale, in 1242, consisting of the natives of Castle-Eden, with all their families and goods; a third was given by William de Percy of Kildale, viz. two natives of Deephill-bridge, with their families and effects; and a fourth by William de Mowbray of Tanietun, who gave the service of two brothers John and Allan of Kirkby, with their families and all their goods †—Some donations were testamentary, being given along with the body of the donor: as in the case of William de Kylton, Osbert de Kylton, Hawise de Upsal, Robert de Tunstal, Robert de Tholebi, Alan, son of Thomas de Giseburn, and Agnes, wife of Henry Fitz-Ralph. The grant of this lady furnishes another instance of the prevalence of slavery: she gave four oxgangs of land in Galmeton, with four tofts, and the four natives who held them, with all their families and effects.—A few benefactions, as at Whitby, consisted in the remission of feudal

* There was another altar dedicated to St. Crux, or *The Holy Cross.* Burton, p. 356. † A few instances more might have been added. It would seem that part of the posterity of those slaves remained attached to the soil even after the dissolution; for Philip and Mary, in their Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Chaloner, granted him, among other possessions of this monastery, "the native men, native women, and villanes, with their offspring"—"Natives, nativas, et villanos, cum eorum sequelis." Carta penes Rob. Chaloner armigerum.

services due by the monastery. One of the most curious instances is a release from 5s. annually paid in lieu of 300 eels, a service due for an oxgang of land in Rottese.*

The immunities of this monastery were similar to those of our abbey. Henry I. granted to the prior and canons the privileges of *soch, sach, thol, theam,* and *infangenithef*. By a charter of Henry III, they were allowed to have a market at Guisborough every monday, and a fair every year for three days, viz. on the assumption of the blessed Virgin (August 15.) and on the day before and the day after. The same king granted them free warren in the demesne lands of Guisborough, Ugthorpe, Bernaldby, and Lounesdale; which privilege was extended by Edward III, to Thormodeby, Ureby, and Hutton-Lowcross. Edward II gave them permission, under certain restrictions, to acquire some new lands, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain; for which dispensation they paid a fine of £20; and a similar relaxation of the statute was granted them by Edward III. The latter also permitted them to turn their wood called *Clyve*, with 80 acres of land contiguous to it, into a park; and gave them leave to fortify their dwelling at Guisborough with a wall of stone and lime, and to keep it so strengthened and fortified.† To these privileges Henry IV added *the view of frank-pledge* in the parish of Guisborough,

* Burton's Monast. p. 340—354. Dugd. Monast. II. p. 147, 148, &c. Cartæ penes R. Chaloner armig. † It seems to have been also inclosed with a foss, or ditch, mentioned in Burton, p. 345. The long ponds, extending in a line on the south and east of the priory, were probably formed out of a part of this foss.

to take place twice in the year; the waif and straif, in the same parish; and the return of briefs or writs.*

The *spiritual* revenue of Guisborough must have been very considerable; for upwards of fifty churches and chapels belonged to this priory. Some of them, however, were soon alienated. Eight of them were in Scotland, and of course must have been lost after the war of the succession;† and a few more were withdrawn in various other ways. The church of Kelestern, given by Hugh Baius, was lost in a dispute with the priory of Thornton. Kirkby on Wisk, and its dependant chapels, granted by Wm. de Kirkby, were given up for some lands at Alesby in Lincolnshire. The church of Lyum, or Kirkleatham, which Wm. de Kylton gave with his body, seems to have scarcely ever come into the possession of the canons.§ Some of the chapels yielded little revenue; for the expence of supplying them with chaplains, if they were regularly supplied, would equal the emoluments; though, in some cases, there were lands, or revenues, expressly set apart for their support. ‖ As almost all

* Ibid. Tanner, p. 650, 651. † These were Annan, Lochmaben, Kirk-Patrick, Cumbertrees, Rein-Patrick, Gretenhou (now Gretnay), Rampton, and Logan. Dugd. Mon. II. p. 152. Burton, p. 357. All these churches were granted by the Annandale branch of the Brus family. § Burton, p. 340, 348. Cartæ penes R. Chaloner armig.—It is possible, however, that the church of Lyum, which was confirmed to the priory by king John, might be the chapel of Wilton, in the parish of Kirkleatham: at least this chapel, for which I find no other charter, may have come to the priory in consequence of this grant. ‖ The 3rd Peter de Brus gave £1. to the canons, on condition that they should find a perpetual chaplain for Brotton: and some lands at Castle-Eden were confirmed to them, on their agreeing to pay 5 marks to a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of Killawe. Burton's Monast. p. 342. There was also a chapel of theirs at

the churches subject to this priory were appropriated to it, the receipts in *pensions* would be small, but in *tithes* very great. The tithe of fish, for Redcar, Coatham, and Skinningrave, was not inconsiderable. The church of Hessle, near Hull, given by Ivo de Karkem, was supplied by one of the canons; and another of them officiated in Trinity chapel, Hull, annexed to this church. Here was a chantry, and an hospital for twelve men, each of whom received one halfpenny daily.*

Castle-Eden, which the bishop of Durham, in 1311, confirmed to the canons, together with the chapel of Treindon. Dugd. Monast. II. p. 152. The chapel of Toccotes, (or Tockets), called St. James's, was supplied every monday wednesday and friday, by a chaplain found by the sacrist of the priory; for the convenience of the family of Toccotes and their dependants, who engaged to attend the mother church of Guisborough, with their offerings, on sundays and other festivals; and also to maintain the chapel, and furnish it with a chalice, &c. Burton, p. 353. There was a chapel in the house or castle of the Meinills at Whorlton, besides the church of Whorlton. Ibid. p. 357. There seems to have been a chapel in the manor-house at Marsk. Ibid. p. 349. Indeed, a chapel was then a necessary appendage to the mansion of a baron. A family at Redcar gave some land there, on which a chapel was to be built: but this pious design does not appear to have been carried into effect. Ibid. p. 351.

* Burton, p. 346, &c. Tanner, p. 650. Cartæ penes R. Chaloner armig.—A lease of the tithes of 8 rectories and 7 chapels, belonging to this priory at the dissolution, (including the oblations of some of them), was granted by Henry VIII to Thomas Leigh, Esq. afterwards Sir Thomas Leigh, on the following terms: Rectory of Guisborough and chapel of Upleatham—£30; Marsk, with the tithe of fish at Redcar—£26 13*s*. 4*d*; Skelton and the chapel of Brotton, with the tithe of fish at Skinningrave—£18; Ormesby and the chapel of Eston—£26 13*s*. 4*d*; Marton—£8; Stainton with its chapels of Acklam and Thormonby—£26 13*s*. 4*d*; Stranton with the chapel of Seton—£17 6*s*. 8*d*; and Hart with its chapel of Hartlepool—£22. Some of the tithes of hay, &c. being let to various individuals, are not included in this lease; which is also the case with the tithes and offerings set apart for the ministers. Burton had not seen this lease, nor the other papers in possession of Robert Chaloner, Esq. else he would not have supposed that Acklam was alienated from the priory (p. 340. Note), nor have been ignorant of the person's name

Scarth, near Whorlton, was a *cell* belonging to this priory. It was founded by Stephen de Meinill in the time of Henry I; and Robert de Meinill gave for its support the churches of Rudby and Whorlton, with the chapelry of his own house. It seems to have been abandoned by the canons prior to the dissolution, and some have doubted whether the founder's designs ever took effect.*

The *hospital* of St. Leonard at Hutton-Lowcross, founded by William de Bernaldby, for lepers, was a considerable establishment under this priory; and several donations were appropriated to its support. Most of these donations were in Bernaldby or Barnaby. The master of this hospital, in 1342, was Richard de Brotton. He was sometimes called the keeper, or elemosinary *custos*. The lord of Hutton had a right to place one leper in this hospital; but this right was given up to the prior, and to the keeper of the hospital.†

If tradition can be credited, for I have not found any satisfactory documents on the subject, there was

from whom the church of Hessle was received, p. 346.—Of the other churches and chapels, not already noticed, Danby, Kirk-Burn, Kirk-Levington, Yarm, Wilton, Whorlton, Ingleby-Arnecliff, Heslarton, the other Heslarton, Hessle, Shireburn, and Derham in Alredale, (Cumberland), were appropriated to the priory. They had also the patronage of Easington, Liverton, Lofthouse, Crathorne, Berningham, and Bridekirk in Alredale; the chapel of Harlsey paid a pension to their church of Arnecliff, and they had a chapel called St. Helen's in the warren at Hartlepool. Burton, p. 340, &c. History of Hartlepool, by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, p. 114. There was another chapel, chantry, or hospital, called St. Helen's, at Wilton; where two priests were to say mass for the soul of the founder, Sir William Bulmer; and where 4 poor men, and 4 poor women were maintained Graves's Hist. of Cleveland, p. 411, 412. * Dugd. Mon. II. p. 153. Tanner, p. 656, Burton, p. 357. † Burton, p. 357.

also a cell in Commondale, belonging to this priory. The tradition prevails both at Guisborough and in Commondale; and, in the latter place, the remains of an ancient building are pointed out as the ruins of this cell. From this building, it is said, the painted glass, now in the east window of Guisborough church, was taken at the dissolution. When we consider the scanty information which we have concerning Scarth, the want of written documents will perhaps not appear a decisive proof that no religious house existed in Commondale.*

The painted glass, now mentioned, has not been made for the window which it occupies; as appears from the awkwardly patched fragments of figures and inscriptions of various kinds: yet it is by no means uninteresting. The window is divided at the top into several small compartments, formed by the intersection of mullions and transoms, and in these compartments various fragments are distributed. The rest of the window is divided longitudinally by two mullions, so as to form three equal compartments. In one we see the virgin and babe, or Christ in his infancy; in the central division is a king with a golden crown, probably to denote Christ reigning; and in the third compartment is Christ judging the world. Beside the babe, in the first figure, is a dove, to represent the Holy Spirit. Over the second figure is a semicircular inscription, very imperfect, in which we can discern

* The prior had a mansion in Danby. Burton, p. 343. The house in Commondale might be a similar mansion, if not a hermitage or cell. The notion that bishop Colman had a cell here is unfounded. The dale was anciently called *Camisedale*.

the words **Deus miserere**—*God be merciful.* The third figure, which is the most interesting, exhibits the judge, with uplifted hands, in the act of pronouncing sentence. Beneath him we see the dead rising, or newly raised; the righteous clothed, and looking towards the judge; the ungodly naked, and shrinking from his presence. Over their heads is the sentence **Veite bndicti patris mei**—*Come ye blessed of my Father:* and beneath is the sentence **Ite maledicti in ignem eternam**—*Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire.* The lower part of the window is chiefly filled with common glass, bnt adorned with some small lozenge panes containing figures of apostles, and two panes of the same shape in which are the armorial bearings of the Chaloners. These must of course be modern. The remaining figures scarcely deserve to be particularized.

This parish church, or rather a church on the same site, called St. Michael's, existed before the foundation of the monastery, and even before the conquest.* Like St. Mary's at Whitby, it was a place of worship for the people of the town and neighbourhood, while the great church of the priory was reserved for the canons.

The church of the priory has been of great extent and grandeur, as appears from the remains

* Dugd. Mon. II. p. 148. Bawdwen's Domesday, p. 69. This church, at the time of the survey, was not in the fee of Robert de Brus, but in that of the earl of Morton. Hence the *site* of the monastery was granted, or confirmed, by Ralph de Clere; who probably held it in right of the earl of Morton, or his assigns. The church, in Ralph's charter, is called St. Michael's *chapel:* the priory was built on the south of it.

of the east wall, a view of which is here presented. The whole extent of the east wall is 98 feet, the great east window is 24 feet wide, and above 60 feet high; besides 10 or 11 feet between the base of the window and the ground, which space being added to the height of the arch, by the taking down of that part of the wall, gives it a magnificent appearance.

The upper part of the arch has been adorned with mullions elegantly branched, which has also been the case with the smaller windows. The architecture is that of the 14th century, the church having been burnt down in the end of the 13th.

The offices of the priory, which must have stood chiefly on the south side of the great church, are all demolished:* but we find on the north-west side part

* In the lease of the site, granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thos. Leigh, the buildings of the priory are expressly excepted, as "the king had ordered them to be demolished and carried off." Great part

of the ancient wall, (probably the same that was built when the priory was fortified), with a gate leading into the village, and part of the porter's lodge. The outer arch of the gate is semicircular, and strongly built; the inner arch is elliptical, with a small gate at the side, to admit persons entering singly.—A strong iron lock, which belonged to one of the offices of the priory, above 15 inches long, and from 8 to 11 in breadth, having two keys, and three bolts, besides two lateral bolts, has long been in the possession of the Chaloner family. One key is fixed in the lock; the other, which can be taken out, as in other locks, turns round in a kind of box, the caverns of which are adapted to receive its indented teeth, placed in six rows. The whole mechanism is singularly ingenious; and from its great strength and security, we may suppose it to have been the lock of the treasury.

It was chiefly to the bounty of the Brus family that this priory was indebted for all its glory; yet, as the monks of Whitby had disputes with the descendants of Wm. de Percy, the canons of Guisborough were in like manner involved in serious quarrels with the posterity of their liberal founder. In 1246, a dispute between John the prior and the fourth Peter de Brus, was settled in York, at the easter assizes; and this was not the first quarrel between them. The chief matters in debate were, the pasturing of cattle in the moors of Glazedale, Swineshead, Wheatlands-

of the village of Guisborough appears to have been rebuilt with the materials; for there is scarcely an old house pulled down in it without observing some of the carved stones.—*N. B. In the last line of the opposite page, for* north-east *read* north-west.

head, and Stonegateside; some taxes imposed by Peter de Brus on the prior's servants; dues exacted by him for vessels delivering goods at Coatham for the priory; the tithe of game; and mill dues. The lord of Skelton seems to have been the aggressor, and the prior obtained the redress of his grievances.*— The Brus family and their heirs, the Thwengs, D'Arcies, and Fauconbergs, had the advowson of the monastery; but as so many of the canons themselves were chosen priors, it is probable that their patrons did not interfere much in the elections.† Many individuals of these noble families were interred in the priory; and, at the dissolution, a beautiful monument of the Brus family was standing in the church of the priory.§ It was of the table form, and has stood with the east end against a wall, probably the east wall of the church, near the altar. It had no recumbent figure above, but 13 upright figures standing in niches, 5 on each side, and 3 on the west end. The centre figure at the west end is a king, in royal robes, with a crown on his head; his right hand holds a sceptre, while his left supports a shield bearing a lion rampant. This was perhaps intended for king Robert Brus, or rather for his grandfather Robert the competitor. The other figures are clothed in armour, and have shields with the lion rampant, the saltier, and

* Fin. Ebor. 30 Hen. 3. ligul. E. Carta penes R. Chaloner armig.—The most serious contest which this priory had with any neighbouring monastery, was that which was carried on with the priory of Tinemouth, respecting the tithes of Hart and Stranton, A. D. 1212. Burton, p. 345, 346. † Ibid. p. 354. § A representation of this monument, but not correct, is given in Dugdale's Monast. II. p. 148.

other armorial bearings of the family. The west end was probably destroyed at the dissolution, but the south and north sides were removed into the parish church; and were fixed in the seats near the west door, one on each side the passage. At the rebuilding of the church, a few years ago, these precious remains of antiquity were built into the porch, or lower part of the tower; that which was the south part of the monument, on the north side, still fronting the south; and that which was the north part, on the opposite side. The five knights on the latter have their shields on their breast, those on the former have them covering the left arm. The sculpture, though partly defaced, is highly interesting, not only as the principal figures are well executed, but as the pillars between the niches, and the spandrels of the arches forming the canopies, are adorned with smaller figures and devices, at once elegant and curious.*

As several stone coffins and graves have been discovered, at various periods, in a part of the garden of Robert Chaloner, Esq. on the south of the conventual church, we may suppose that the cemetery was in that quarter; or else that this was the site of the chapter-house, where the illustrious dead were frequently interred.†

* Some of the figures on the pillars are priors, canons, persons reading, writing, &c. Among the emblems, or lesser figures, we find—a cock perched on a hand-reel—the sun and the moon—the bread and the chalice—a griffin, an angel, &c. On the whole, there is much more variety in the sculpture than appears in Dugdale's plate. Several monuments of the Fauconbergs, and other barons, appeared among the ruins of the priory, some time after the dissolution. Grose's Antiqu. VI. p. 105. † In 1808, some labourers, digging a foundation for a forcing bed, about 50 yards south-west of the east wall of the priory church,

Guisborough had the honour of producing some eminent men, as well as Whitby. William, a canon of this priory, assumed the habit of the Cistercian order, under St. Robert abbot of New-Minster (formerly a monk of Whitby), and on the death of that abbot he was chosen his successor, and was afterwards promoted to be abbot of Fountains. His historian gives him the very highest character: "He proclaimed war against vices, maintained a combat with pleasures, and, mortifying his members, compelled the flesh to serve the spirit. This indeed he carried to excess, weakening his body with immoderate watchings and fastings. Many years he presided over New-Minster, and the house prospered in his hands. From thence he was translated to the government of the church of Fountains, at a great age: yet his advanced years occasioned no neglect in discipline or management; for he was a prudent man, having faithful counsellors,

found two stone coffins placed close together, and pointing east and west. One was larger than the other, but they were of the same form, each consisting of an entire stone, coarsely hewn, with a place for the head to rest in, and without any appearance of a cover. The bones in both were well preserved; and in one of them the teeth were entire, with the enamel white. The coffins are still kept in the garden, their contents having been removed and buried. Immediately under these coffins were discovered two more, consisting of several flat stones, in a rough state, some forming the sides, some the bottom, and some the covering. Each of these contained a skeleton, *without the head;* and after a diligent search, a skull was found at the foot of each coffin, but lying on the outside, as if unworthy to be entombed with the body. These were probably the remains of some barons who had been beheaded for treason. In the same place were seen numerous bones and parts of skeletons, lying in every direction without any order; and some spear-heads and battle axes were dug up, nearly consumed with rust. A subterraneous passage was also discovered near the spot, pointing towards the east end of the conventual church; but it was shut up without being explored.

active officers, obedient sons, who, with filial love, bore on their shoulders the old age of their father. He governed his subjects with mildness, seeking the good of his people; and the house increased under his hand, in manors, and pastures, and plentiful possessions. During 10 years he ruled the church of Fountains; and having finished his course, he rested in peace at a good old age, leaving to posterity the grateful remembrance of his virtues."*

Walter Hemingburgh, one of the annalists of of the middle ages, was a canon of Guisborough. His work begins at the conquest, and is continued to the year 1308. It consists of about 30 chapters; but a great part of it is not original, being borrowed almost verbatim from William of Newburgh. He wrote much about the incursions of the Scots into the north of England; and has recorded some interesting particulars relating to his own monastery. Under the year 1289, he registers this calamity: "On the 7th of the Kalends of June (May 26) the fierce flame consumed our church of Giseburn, with many books of divinity, and nine most valuable chalices, and with costly vestments and images."† Under the year 1296 he records the death of Robert de Brus, competitor with Baliol for the crown of Scotland. He died at Lochmaben in his territory of Annandale; and, by his own desire, was

* Dugd. Mon. I. p. 749. † To help to repair this loss, the canons next year petitioned Edward I. for leave to appropriate the churches of Easington, Berningham, and Heslarton, of which they already had the advowson: the king granted their request as far as in him lay, yet the appropriation does not appear to have taken effect. Grose's Antiqu. VI. p. 105. Graves's Hist. p. 424.—Hemingburgh, or *Hemmingford*, died at Guisborough, in 1347. Biogr. Dict. XVII. 338.

buried at Guisborough, beside his father.*—When Leland made his tour through the monasteries, the canons of Guisborough had no copy of this chronicle; nor does he make extracts from any work in their library, though he names a few of the books.†

Dr. Cockerill, the last prior but one, was one of the graduated canons of this monastery. He held the rectory of Lythe. After being prior of Guisborough for some years, he was made abbot of Lilleshull; but he was attainted for high treason, during the troubles that occurred at the dissolution.§

The canons of this priory distinguished themselves, along with the monks of Durham, in resisting the exorbitant demands of the church of Rome.|| Near the dissolution, they contracted an intimate friendship with the monks of St. Mary's abbey at York‡

* Lel. Coll. II. p. 314, 315. It is probable that the principal figure on the tomb above described was intended for this Robert; for though he did not reach the crown himself, the success of his grandson would be considered as establishing his right to wear it. The royal shield on the tomb, as represented in Dugdale's plate, is exactly the same with the shield of king Robert, as it appears on his great seal. (See an engraving of this seal in Sir Cuthbert Sharp's Hist. of Hartlepool, at p. 27.) Yet this is no proof that the figure is not meant for Robert the competitor, whose shield we may suppose to have been the same. King Robert was interred at Dunfermling. † Ibid. III. p. 41. § Burton, p. 355. Graves's Hist. p. 425. || Matth. Paris. p. 920, 921. ‡ Among the papers in the possession of Rob. Chaloner, Esq. M. P. is a deed, by which John prior of Guisborough and his convent, in gratitude for favours received, admit to their fraternity Edmund abbot of St. Mary's and his convent, giving them an interest in their prayers and services, both during life and after death. As this document is dated Sept. 30. 1511, there must be a mistake in Burton's list, where he makes *Benedict* prior, Sept. 10. 1511. Burton's Mon. p. 355. A copy of this deed, and of some other papers relating to this priory, will be given in the Appendix. The deed is particularly interesting, as it has appended to it an impression of the priory seal, partly mutilated. On one side is the virgin Mary and the

The number of canons which formed the complement of this priory is not known; but, if we may judge from the comparative number of pensioners after the dissolution, they must have been much more numerous than the monks of Whitby. Their revenues indeed were considerably larger; the annual amount being estimated by Dugdale at £628. 3*s.* 4*d.* and by Speed at £712, 6*s.* 6*d.**

The priory of GROSMONT, now called *Growmond*, was much inferior to that of Guisborough. It was founded about the year 1200, by the liberality of Johanna, daughter of William Fossard, and wife of Robert de Turnham. This lady was heiress to the estates of the Fossard family, at Mulgrave, Egton, and other places; which descended to her daughter

babe, sitting under a canopy in the form of a church, with this inscription around her: AVE MARIA GRACIA PL. *Hail Mary full of grace!* On either side is a person under a smaller canopy, kneeling towards the virgin, and raising his hands. The inscription around the outer edge, the beginning of which is gone, appears to have been SIG. PRIORAT' BEATE MARIE DE GYSEBURNE. *The seal of the priory of the blessed Mary of Gyseburne.* On the reverse is St Augustine in his robes, with his mitre and crosier, sitting also beneath a church-like canopy, with a praying figure on either side, as on the obverse. Around the saint are the words ORA P. NOB. SCE AVGV. *Pray for us, St. Augustine.* The marginal inscription on this side is too imperfect to be translated; the letters which remain are AVGVSTINE CVM FO.... Perhaps it has been, SANCTE AUGUSTINE TECUM FONS VITÆ DIVINÆ—*Holy Augustine, with thee is the fountain of divine life.* The crockets and finials of the smaller canopies are those of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th.

* Dugdale, I. p. 1045. Tanner, p. 650. Burton, p. 354, 356. Among the revenues of Guisborough, as well as of Whitby, there were several *precariæ*, or *day's-works*. In the grant made to Sir Thomas Chaloner after the dissolution, I find "57 precariæ, or autumnal works called *Heybound*, annually paid or done by different tenants of Gisbourne, and lately belonging to the monastery of Gisbourne." Carta penes R. Chaloner armig.

Isabella, and came by her to the Mauley family, on her marriage with the first Peter de Mauley. Johanna, by her charter, granted to the prior and brethren of the order of Grandimont in France (a branch of the Benedictines), a mansion in the forest of Egton, to be a cell to their monastery. Accordingly a small priory was erected here, in a sequestered spot on the banks of the Esk; where a few monks, under the government of a *corrector*, took up their abode; calling the place *Grandimont* or *Grosmont*, after the parent monastery. The possessions given by the foundress were chiefly at Egton and Goldsborough. She gave them the mill at Egton, with the fishery there; and granted liberty for their cattle to graze in her pastures, to the number of 40 cows, 500 sheep, &c. with their young of three years. They also received from her some houses in York, with several other donations; among which a gift of *villanes* must not be omitted: "She gave them one man in Goldsburc (Goldsborough), with his messuage, and two oxgangs of land, and his heirs;—to cultivate their land in the same town, and do other services, at the will of the brethren; and another man in the same manner in Eggeton, with two oxgangs of land, to keep their mill and their cattle, and do other services, at the will of the brethren; and likewise one called Tostus in Sandeshande (Sandsend), for doing their business and services; and one man in Donecastre, and his heirs, with his messuage and its appertenances, to attend them in certain places and houses of

theirs."*—Egton mill seems to have been afterwards withdrawn from the priory; but it was restored by the 3rd Peter de Mauley, with further privileges; on condition that the monks should establish a chantry for the benefit of his family, providing two chaplains, to perform service daily, for their souls, and to chant every year on the anniversary of their obits; and that the monks should also relieve any foreign brother who might visit them.†—About an hundred years after, the abbot of Grandimont obtained leave of Richard II, to sell the advowson of this cell, with its appertenances, to John Hewitt, *alias* Serjaunt; by which means it became *indigenous*, and was not among the *alien* priories suppressed by Henry V.—This priory, which was sometimes called *Eskdale*, was probably intended for 13 monks; but there were not above 4 in it at the dissolution. Its annual revenues are rated by Dugdale at £12 2*s*. 8*d*; by Speed, at £14 2*s*. 8*d*. The advowson of the church of Lockinton belonged to it, but it does not appear to have received any more churches.§

* Dugd. Mon. III. p. 15. The ground for the priory was to extend along the river VII *Quarantans*, and towards the hill three *Quarantans* and a half: the *Quarantans* to be measured by a rod of 20 feet. The inclosure of this space is still very discernible. The monks were to have 200 acres in all, around their house, including woods; and were also permitted to cut timber out of the forest. This charter was confirmed by king John. Ibid. I. p. 597. † The original charter is in the possession of Mr. Richard Garbutt, the present proprietor of Egton mill. It is dated at St. Julian's, on St. Bartholomew's day (Aug. 24), 1294. Roger de Cressewell was then *corrector*; and the brethren of the priory, though connected with Grandimont in France, were "of the English nation." The charter is most beautifully written: Mauley's seal is gone, but the silk cord by which it hung still remains. § Tanner, p. 679.

The church at Growmond, of which the foundations are still visible, has been 100 feet long, by 40 broad. It was dedicated to St. Mary. Some of the other buildings, extending westward from the church, have been converted into a farm-house and offices. On the south of these buildings has been the square of the cloister, which has reached almost to the brink of the river, being near 100 feet each way.

The six NUNNERIES in the district were all founded in the 12th century, all dedicated to the virgin Mary, and all conducted on a small scale; each being intended for the reception of about 12 nuns and a prioress.

HANDALE, or *Grenedale*, a Benedictine priory, was founded in 1133, by William de Percy of Dunsley, grandson of the first William de Percy, who endowed it with lands in Grenedale, Dunsley, and Staxton in Depedale. To these were added by other benefactors some lands and tenements in Marton, Scaling, Wapley, and Hilderwell. The prioress Avicia and her nuns, let to Ralph the prior and the canons of Guisborough, an oxgang of land and two tofts in Marton, at an yearly rent of 4 quarters of corn. Richard de Percy, in the reign of king John, or of Henry III, granted the advowson of Handale to Richard Malebisse and his heirs, on condition of their paying to the nuns one pound of incense yearly. Small as their property was, they did not enjoy it without molestation; but had law-suits about their premises in Hilderwell, about the mediety of a mill at Scaling, and other matters. There were 8 nuns on

the establishment at the dissolution; when the revenues according to Dugdale were only £13 19*s*; according to Speed, £20 7*s*. 8*d*.*—The church of this priory is completely demolished; but some remains of the other buildings appear in the farm-house and offices erected on the site: and it is observable, that these have stood on the north side of the church, whereas in almost all other monasteries, in this quarter, the offices have been on the south.

Basedale, or *Baysdale*, a Cistercian priory, may be properly placed next, as it also was sometimes called *Handale* and *Grendale*; a circumstance which may excite a doubt, whether some records belonging to the one priory may not have been appropriated to the other.† This nunnery was first established at Hoton (Hutton-Lowcross), about the year 1162, by Ralph Nevill; whose donation was confirmed by Adam de Brus, lord of Skelton. Soon after, the same Ralph, with the consent of Ernald de Percy, gave some land at Thorp, near Ayton, where the nuns obtained a habitation, thence called *Nun-Thorp*. About 20 years after, they removed to Basedale, the most westerly

* Reg. Whitb. f. 129. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 72, 427, 428. Tanner, p. 655. *Wapley* is by mistake called *Walpole*.—Besides Avicia, the following prioresses occur; Cecilia de Irton, 1313; Mariott de Herseley, 1315; Alicia de Hoton, 1318; Agnes, 1320; Cecilia, 1604; Joan Scott, ——; and Ann Latton, 1532. † That Basedale was called *Handale* and *Grendale*, is obvious from the Whitby records: Regist. f. 115. Charlton, p. 231, 238. Though I have followed Dugdale in placing Avicia and her lease under *Handale*, I strongly suspect that the transaction relates to *Basedale*; for it is certain that the manor of Marton belonged to the latter. Burton, p. 251. If *Bovington*, in the lease, can be viewed as a mistake for *Bovingcourt*, as *Warton* evidently is for *Marton*, the idea will be confirmed; as the Bovingcourt family were the chief benefactors of Basedale.

branch of the Esk; where some lands were given them by Guido de Bovincourt, who also granted them possessions in Westerdale, Stokesley, Battersby, and Newby. Other donations were added by various benefactors; among whom are some of the Eure family.* As Nunthorp chapel, called St James's, was subject to Ayton church, belonging to Whitby abbey; and as Basedale was in Stokesley parish, of which the abbot of York was patron, there were some disputes and other transactions, between the nuns of Basedale and the abbots of those places.† There were about ten nuns here at the dissolution: their income was rated at £20 1*s.* 4*d.* Dugdale: £21 19*s.* 4*d.* Speed. The site of the priory is now a farm-stead.§

ROSEDALE was founded by Robert de Stutevile about the year 1190. It is not certain whether the nuns of this priory were Benedictines or Cistercians. Their property lay chiefly in Rosedale, and near

* Dugd. Mon. I. p. 840, 841. Tanner, p. 669. Graves's Hist. p. 267. Note Append. No. V. A donation of *villanes* to this priory was noticed before, p. 275, 276. † See the dispute between our abbot Roger and the prioress Susanna noticed in p. 332. In 1316, the prioress and convent gave up to the abbot of Whitby a claim which they had on lands in Ayton, let to John de Thorp and Alice his wife. Reg. f. 115. Ch. p. 231, 238. Robert de Longo-Campo, abbot of York, allowed Isabella and her nuns to have a cemetery at Basedale; saving the other rights of the mother church at Stokesley. Dugd. Mon. I. p. 841. § The following prioresses occur: Isabella, about or before 1200 (cotemporary with Robert de Longocampo abbot of York, and Roald prior of Guisborough); Susanna, about 1230 (cotemporary with Roger abbot of Whitby); Johanna, 1304; Johanna (probably another of the name), 1338; Katherine de Mowbray, 1343; Alicia Page, ——; Elizabeth Cotham, 1460; Elizabeth Darel, 1481; Agnes Thomlinson, 1497; Margaret Buckton, 1523; Joan Fletcher (a nun of Rosedale), 1524; and Elizabeth Raighton, or Rowton (a nun of Keldholm), 1527. Some of them are not in Burton's list, Mon. p. 252. One of the Johannas was a Percy. Some of the prioresses had been nuns here.

Cropton, Cawthorn, Newton, Lockton, and Pickering. They had also a few more distant possessions, and the patronage of Thorpenhow church, in the diocese of Carlisle. There were about ten nuns here at the surrender. Dugdale states their income at £37 12*s.* 3*d*; Speed, at £41 13*s.* 8*d.* The church, or chapel, was dedicated to St. Lawrence, as well as St. Mary.* It is still used, or at least a part of it, as a parochial place of worship. A view of the ruins on the west side is here exhibited.

The square of the cloister, on the south of the church, is almost entire; the buildings having been converted into dwelling-houses, barns, &c. In this square, on the east side, are some of the tomb-stones that have been placed over the nuns, with crosses,

* Dugd. Mon. I p. 507—510. Tanner, p. 678. Burton, p. 378, 379. Among the annual revenues we find 6 flagons of oil, given by Matilda the widow of Americus de Scardeburgh.

&c. carved on them. The only name that is legible is that of Catharine Meger.* On a lintel in the end of one of the offices on the east is this inscription :

These words, signifying *All is vanity*, were intended to remind the nuns of the vanity of this world; and they now stand as a most appropriate motto over the ruins of monastic grandeur.†

KELDHOLM was also founded by a Robert de Stuteville, about 60 years before Rosedale. The possessions of this Cistercian nunnery lay chiefly at Keldholm, near Kirkby-Moorside, and at Cropton, Malton, Fadmore, Ingleby, and Nunnington. The patronage of this priory, and of Rosedale, passed from the Stuteviles to the Wakes. At the dissolution, when this house contained a prioress and 8 nuns, the revenues were £29 6*s.* 1*d.*§ The buildings are entirely gone.‖

WYKEHAM, another Cistercian nunnery, was established about the year 1153, by Pagan Fitz-Osbert

* SYSTER CATARINA MEGER. † The prioresses that occur are; Maria de Ross, ——; Joan de Pykering, 1310; Isabella Whyteby, —— ; Elizabeth de Kirkebymoorside, 1336; Margaret Chamberlain, ——; Joan Bramley, 1468; Margaret Ripon, ——; Joan Baddersby, 1505; Maud Felton, 1521; and Mary Marshal, 1527. Burton, p. 379. § Dugd. Mon. I. p. 914, 915. Tanner, p. 674. Burton, p. 380, 381. In 11 Hen. 4. Edmund, earl of Kent, had two parts of the advowson, then estimated at £2. yearly.—The prioresses that occur are: Sibilla, about 1135; Emma de Stapleton, 1308; Emma of York, 1317; Margaret Aslaby, ——; Alice Sandford, 1406; Agnes Wandsford, ——; Elena Wandsford, 1461; Katherine de Anlaghby, ——; Elizabeth Darel (formerly prioress of Basedale), 1497; and Elizabeth Lyon, 1534. ‖ In 1813, when part of the foundations was cleared away, several tomb-stones of the nuns, with crosses on them, were discovered.

de Wykeham. Most of its estates were in Wykeham, Ruston, Hutton-Bushell, Ebberston, Octon, and Snainton. Two oxgangs of land in Flixton, with a toft and croft, were given by Ivetta, daughter of Richard Munceus, along with her body; and a capital house in Scarborough was given by Cecily, widow of Richard Cook of that town, with her body. The church, which still remains, with some vestiges of the offices, was dedicated to St. Michael, as well as St. Mary. It is now the parochial place of worship. The ancient parish church, called All-Saints was appropriated to the priory; but it appears to have given place to a chantry chapel of St. Mary and St. Helen, founded by the famous John de Wykeham in 1321, and endowed with lands in Irton, Ayton, &c. that the prioress might provide two chaplains to perform service daily, for his soul and the souls of his kindred. The ruins of this chapel, called St. Helen's, are beside the inn at Wykeham. The church, cloisters, and 24 other houses of this priory, having been consumed by fire, with all the books, vestments, chalices, &c. king Edward III, in 1327, granted the nuns a release for 20 years from the payment of £3 12*s.* 7*d.*, due to him for lands held in the honour of Pickering, part of the Dutchy of Lancaster. There were nine religious here at the dissolution: Income, £25 17*s.* 6*d.**

YEDDINGHAM, on the borders of our district, was a Benedictine nunnery, founded before 1163, by

* Dugd. Mon. I. p. 916, 917. Tanner, p. 666. Burton, p. 255—257. Burton has put St. Ellen instead of St. Michael. He names the following prioresses: Emma de Dunstan, a nun here, 1286; Isabel, 1321; Eliz. Edmundson, ——; Kath. Ward, 1487; Alice Hornby, a nun here, 1502; and Kath. Nandik, 1508.

Helewisia de Clere. With some lands in Yeddingham, or Little Marsh, and two oxgangs in Wilton, the nuns obtained from Roger de Clere the privileges of "tol, tem, soc, sach, and infangthefe." In Ebberston they had great possessions; of which two oxgangs, with a toft and croft, were received with the corpse of Eufemia, daughter of Adam de Everley. They had lands in Allerston, Snainton, Marton, Sinnington, and Rillington; and obtained the church of St. John's at Yeddingham, and that of All Saints at Sinnington. In the latter place they held 4 oxgangs, &c. of the priory of Guisborough, for which they paid 15s. yearly at Shireburn (Sherburn); besides upholding the chapel of St. Michael's and other buildings, entertaining the canons when there, and having mass celebrated there thrice a week. Some lands in Yeddingham were granted by Sir Hugh Gubyun, for a rent of £10, and on condition that the nuns should find a priest to celebrate daily in their church for his family, or pay 5 marks more yearly in case of neglect. In 1241, their church appears to have been rebuilt; for it was then dedicated by G. bishop of Whithern, suffragan of the archbishop of York; who granted 100 days relaxation of penance to such repenting delinquents as attended the dedication, and appointed a similar indulgence for 40 days to be enjoyed at each anniversary of the dedication. Sir Richard de Breuse, who became lord of the fee at Yeddingham, in right of Alicia his wife, granted the nuns the privilege of electing their own prioresses; and pope Innocent VIII allowed them to

choose their own confessor. This priory contained 8 or 9 nuns; whose income amounted to £21 6*s*. 8*d*. Dugdale; £26 6*s*. 8*d*. Speed.*

To these priories may be added a convent of Cistercian monks at SCARBOROUGH, called St. Mary's, founded before the year 1200. It was not an independent monastery, but a cell of the abbey of Cistertium in France; and, on the suppression of the alien priories, it was given to the monastery of Bridlington. The rectory of Scarborough belonged to this convent; and the present parish church, which bears the marks of antiquity and grandeur, appears to have been formed out of the nave of the conventual church; the tower

* Dugd. Mon. I. p. 496—498. Tanner, p. 670. Burton, p. 285—287. Wm. [illegible]chibald gave an oxgang in Sinnington, and pannage for 20 ho[illegible] 15 cart-loads of wood annually. The prioresses were: B[illegible]—; Emma de Hambleton, 1239; Margaret Scarth, ——; M[illegible]e Lutton, ——; Alice, 1331; Gundreda, ——; Margaret [illegible] about 1400; Idonea, 1445; Isabella Heslarton, ——; Cecil[illegible]e, 1499; Joan Tunstal, 1507; Elizabeth Whitehead, 1521; and Agnes Bradrick, or Bredridge, 1525.—If the chapel of St. Michael, mentioned above, was at Sinnington, it must be added to the list of chapels belonging to the canons of Guisborough. Their churches of Sherburn and Heslerton, and their chapel of Heslerton, were near Yeddingham.—We find in Dugdale a curious account of the loaves delivered weekly to this convent and their dependants and servants; by which it appears that the nuns had 50 servants, of whom 11 were at Ebberston; and that they provided for 10 brethren, one of whom was above the rest; and for 4 priests (including the minister of Sinnington), and 4 chaplains; besides distributing to the minor friars of Scarborough, and to the poor. In every nunnery there was an officer called the *master of the nuns*, who was usually a priest and their confessor; though the office of confessor was sometimes filled by the principal chaplain, or even by a friar. Some brethren were admitted under the master, with consent of the prioress and senior nuns; but *ten brethren* (one for each nun) were surely too many for Yeddingham. Wilk. Concil. II. p. 38, 39. Symon, master of the nuns at Wykeham, witnessed a Whitby charter in 1212. Reg. f. 10. Charlton, p. 156. We read also of Galfrid, master of the nuns of Duna, or Keldholm. Burton, p. 380, Note.

being at the east end, where the ancient choir has joined it. The south transept contained some chantries erected at various periods. *

There were three FRIARIES in this district, all in Scarborough; one of the Franciscans, founded in 1245; one of the Dominicans, established about the same time; and one of the Carmelites, founded in 1320. Owing to the colour of their respective dresses, the first were called *grey* friars, the second *black*, and the third *white*. They were also distinguished by other names, the Franciscans being called *minor* friars, from their pretended humility; the Dominicans *preaching* friars, from their office; and the Carmelites *brethren of the blessed virgin*. All of them were mendicants by profession, and could hold no property; yet they found means to dispense with [illegible], by pretending that the property given [illegible] was the pope's and that they had merely the use of it. Accordingly, each of the convents of friars at Scarborough possessed some landed property. The celebrated Robert Baston, the poet of Edward II, was the first prior of the Carmelites in Scarborough, and his brother Philip was his successor.†

* Tanner, p. 681. Hinderwell's Hist. of Scarborough, (2d Edit.) p. 99—103. The Cistercians from their dress were called *white* monks.

† Tanner, p. 684, 687, 690. Burton, p. 61. Fosbrooke, II. p. 39. Hinderwell's Hist. of Scarborough, p. 98, 116—124. About the year 1312, some friars of the order of the *cross*, or *crouched* friars, began to build an oratory and other offices, in the park of Sir Arnald de Percy in Kildale; but they were stopped by an interdict of archbishop Grenefeld, and it does not appear that they were afterwards permitted to resume their operations. Wilk. Concil. II. p. 423. Tanner, p. 689.

Of the HOSPITALS in the district, not already noticed, two were in Scarborough; the one dedicated to St. Thomas the martyr, founded in the time of Henry II. by the burgesses of Scarborough, aided by a benefaction of Hugh de Bulmer; the other dedicated to St. Nicholas, also erected by the burgesses. Both were intended for poor brothers and sisters, and were under the rules of St. Augustine. The gift of the mastership of St. Nicholas, and probably of St. Thomas also, belonged to the crown.*—There was another ancient hospital at Pickering; dedicated to St. Nicholas, and under the patronage of the crown.†

But the most remarkable institution of the hospital kind, in all this neighbourhood, was that of Stainton Dale. The territory of Stainton Dale was given in the reign of king Stephen to the *knights hospitallers* of St. John Baptist of Jerusalem, a kind of military religious order, of great power and riches. Part of the dale, if not the whole, was the gift of one Henry the son of Ralph. The grant was confirmed by the charter of Richard I, and the valuable immunities conferred on the knights hospitallers by Henry III, and other English monarchs, were enjoyed in this estate of Stainton Dale, annexed to the *commandery* of the Holy Trinity of Beverley; which, like the other commanderies or convents of these knights, was subject to the grand prior of the order in London. About the year 1340, thirty years after the suppression of that kindred order the *knights templars*, John Moryn, escheator to Edward III, took possession

* Tanner, p. 675. Hinderwell's Hist. p. 126, 127. † Tanner, p. 691

of the manor of Stainton Dale as a forfeit; alleging, that it had been given by king Stephen to the *knights templars*, for keeping a chaplain there to celebrate divine service daily, and for receiving and entertaining poor people and travellers passing that way, and for ringing a bell and blowing a horn every night in the twilight, that travellers and strangers might be directed thither; and that as this chantry and alms had been withdrawn by the master and brethren of the hospital, the manor was forfeited to the king. Upon this, the prior of the order represented to the king, in his court of chancery, that the manor was given by king Richard to the *hospitallers*, without exacting any such conditions; and that it had ever since belonged to them, both before and after the suppression of the *knights-templars*, of whose possessions it formed no part: which being found on investigation to be the truth, the king ordered the succeeding escheator, Thomas de Metham to restore the manor with all its rights. By this decision it would appear, that the service above mentioned, which had been for some time performed by the hospitallers, was voluntary, and not made a condition in their charter. Whether they resumed it again or not, after that date, has not been ascertained; but the rising ground where the bell was sounded or the horn blown, is still called *Bell-Hill*; the site of the chantry, where carved stones were lately found, is called *Old-Chapel*; and the adjoining farm-house, where the hospital has stood, is called *Old-Hall*. The manor continued to enjoy its high privileges till the dissolu-

tion, and many of them have descended to the present proprietors, the freeholders of the Dale.*

As there was a "special and spiritual friendship" between our abbey and that of RIEVAUX, it will not

* It is through the kindness of these gentlemen, who politely suffered me to examine their records, that I have been enabled to give a correct view of this establishment. Charlton, who read and copied the same documents, has given an erroneous account of the subject; for he says in his History (p. 276, 277) that Stainton-Dale was first given by king Stephen to the knights templars, in 1140; that on the suppression of that order it was given by king Richard I. to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and in a succeeding reign was annexed to the preceptory of the Holy Trinity at Beverley. But it does not appear that the manor ever belonged to the knights templars, though Moryn the escheator alleged that it did; on the contrary, the original grant of Henry son of Ralph (the precise date of which cannot be fixed) is expressly made "to God and St. John and the brethren of the hospital of Jerusalem;" besides, the suppression of the order of knights templars did not take place till 1309, a hundred and twenty years after the time of Richard I (Wilk. Concil. II. p. 329, &c.); nor is there any record to shew that this possession did not from the first belong to the commandery of the hospitallers at Beverley.—The privileges of the knights hospitallers in Stainton-Dale, as in their other estates, were greater than those of any other religious house in the district. They had *sok, sack, thol, theam, infangenethef, utfangenethef, hamsock, gridbrich, blodewite,* and many others which it would be tedious to name, and difficult to explain; they and their homagers were exempted from all manner of royal subsidies or aids, and could buy and sell in any market or fair in the kingdom without paying either toll or custom; they had court-leet, view of frank-pledge, &c. &c. The *view of frank-pledge,* which was granted also to Guisborough priory, and likewise to Whitby abbey, though it is not expressly named in our records, was an inquest held, to see that every person above 12 years of age was in some tything, had taken the oath of allegiance, and had nine freemen to be pledges or security for his loyalty to the king, and his peaceable behaviour to his fellow-subjects. Dr. Sullivan's Lectures on the Laws of England, p. 269. Ritson's Jurisdiction of the Court-Leet, p. 2, 3.—It is worthy of remark, that in the charter of Henry III, at the end of the long list of privileges granted to the knights hospitallers, a clause is added restricting them from interfering with judgments relating to life or limb; "servata regiæ potestati justitia mortis et membrorum." This reservation of the royal prerogative strongly corroborates the sentiments expressed in a former chapter (p. 282, 283, &c.) respecting the judicial power of our abbots; for if judgments affecting life or limb were not given to knights hospitallers, whose privileges were so great, and who were

The situation of Rievaux abbey, in a deep sequestered vale on the banks of the Rye (whence it had the name *Rieval* or *Rievaux*), is truly delightful, and its buildings have been magnificent. Their remains are more entire, and more interesting, than any in the district. The nave of the church is wholly gone; but the choir, one of its aisles, great part of the tower, and both the transepts, still exist. The form and extent of this building are nearly the same with those of the abbey church of Whitby; only it is a few feet larger in almost all its dimensions, especially in the length and the height. The most ancient part, which has been coeval with its first erection, appears in the transepts, particularly in that part which is towards the nave, where we see two rows of the small Norman windows with semicircular arches, and with bands running along the wall above and below, as in the old part of St. Mary's (or the parish church) at Whitby.* The rest of the church bears a great resemblance to the eastern and middle part of our abbey church; both in regard to the pillars, the pointed arches, the lancet windows, and the mouldings; but most of all in the windows above the piers, every two of which are placed under an elliptical arch. The number and kind of the decorations, however, together with the flying buttresses of the aisle, bespeak the architecture to be more modern than that of the choir at Whitby. It is a singular circumstance, that the church instead of standing east and west, approaches more to the direction of south and north; so that the choir is at

* See p. 368.

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the south end, and the aisle, which should have been the north aisle, is on the east. This anomaly appears to have been produced at the rebuilding of the church, by making the body of the old church serve as the transept of the new.* Near the altar end of the choir, a large flat stone about 9 feet long has been raised up; it has been either the altar or part of a monument. Adjoining to the ruins of the nave, on what should have been the south side but is in reality the west, we find the vestiges of the cloister; the square of which is above 100 feet each way. One side of the square comes close to the nave of the church, with which no doubt it communicated. On the opposite side stands a splendid building, extending in length towards the west above 100 feet, and in breadth between 30 and 40. The lower part of the front wall, which is at the end next the square, is lined with an elegant arcade, in the centre of which is a handsome door opening into the square. The windows in this, and in most of the other offices, are of the lancet kind. This structure appears to have been the refectory; though it is possible that part of it may have been assigned to some other office. Parallel to this, and in a line with the transept, is another extensive ruin, several feet longer than the refectory, and about the same breadth,

* The present transept is much too extensive to have been the original one; but it may very well have been the body of the ancient church. It has been enlarged, at the rebuilding, on the side towards the choir, and the walls have been heightened so as to admit a row of lancet windows above the two rows of Norman windows. In the north, or rather the east transept, the new work comes down to the middle of the second row.

corresponding with the breadth of the transept, to which it approaches, and with which it has obviously communicated. From this circumstance we may infer, that this was the dormitory; such a communication being necessary to accommodate the monks in repairing from their beds to the church for their nocturnal devotions. This building lies partly on the south of the refectory, a space being left between, and partly on the south of the cloister square. In the west end of the dormitory the lower part of the walls is ancient, and probably coeval with the original abbey. Beyond the dormitory, on the west of the choir, we find another building, or range of buildings, partly parallel to the dormitory, and partly joining it at right angles, near where it approaches the church. Here were probably the abbot's chamber and offices. The great kitchen must of course have adjoined to the refectory, and if the dormitory has occupied the whole of the building on the south side, it must have stood on the north, where the ruins are too indistinct to admit of description. At a considerable distance north of the church, is a small detached building, tolerably entire; and other ruins, nearer to the church, are seen in the same direction. These are probably the remains of the infirmary and the almshouse.

CHAP. XV.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES—STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS SINCE THAT ERA.

WHEN British wealth had been profusely lavished on the monks and other religious, and a great part of the best lands in the kingdom had been granted them "as a perpetual alms;" many soon began to discover the impolicy of this profusion, both as it regarded the interests of religion, and the advantage of the state. Not only did the heirs of the founders of monasteries regret the improvident liberality of their fathers, by which their paternal inheritance had been materially curtailed; but men of various classes observed with concern, that the bounty which was intended to cherish true religion became the food of luxury, pride, and corruption; while, by the exemption of so many proprietors of land from secular service, a much greater share of public burdens was thrown on the rest of the community. The king and parliament perceived the injury done to the state by such extensive alienations of landed property, and found it necessary to check this alarming evil. So early as the year 1225, when the *Great Charter* of Henry III was issued, a clause was inserted, (c. 36.) to render any further donations of land to religious

houses null and void; and especially to prevent persons from making over their lands to monasteries, to receive them back again as homagers, a method then adopted to procure the exemption of lands from public burdens. This regulation was confirmed and extended by the statute of *mortmain*, passed in 1279 under Edward I; so that henceforth no lands could be given to religious houses, without a special dispensation from the king. At the same time, while the monks and clergy were allowed to retain the lands already given them, means were taken to make them contribute to the public revenue, by imposing on them various assessments, denominated *dismes*, *aids*, or *subsidies*. Such contributions frequently occurred, and were sometimes very considerable. In 1333, when Edward III raised an aid for the marriage of his sister, the abbot of Whitby was taxed £5, the abbot of Rievaux £4, and the prior of Scarborough £2. The *alien* priories, of which Scarborough was one, were often more burdened than the rest: they were regarded with a jealous eye, as so many channels by which the country was drained of its wealth; and, after being restrained from making remittances to their superiors abroad, they were at last, under Richard II and Henry V, either wholly suppressed or rendered indigenous. Besides the royal subsidies, the monasteries were burdened with corrodies and pensions, payable to clergymen or others, nominated by the king; and even the confirmatory charters were made the means of taxation, for they could not be

obtained without money; and, in some instances, the king compelled the religious houses to get their charters renewed, in order to replenish his coffers.

As the monastic orders were at no pains to adorn their profession by their lives, their wealth, which nourished their vices, was viewed as a legitimate object of jealousy, while their irregular conduct excited disgust, and called for severe reprehension. Wickliff, the morning-star of the reformation, who arose in the reign of Edward III, exposed in strong colours the vices of the monks and friars; and his little books which he published in English, against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome in general, as well as the immoralities of the monastic orders, were so well received and so eagerly sought for by the laity, that the strictest prohibitions and most cruel persecutions could not wholly suppress them.* Even the clergy were often on bad terms with the monks; and a variety of concurring circumstances prepared the way for their downfal.

When the light of reformation, accelerated in its progress by the art of printing, had made a considerable impression in England, notwithstanding the severe means employed to extinguish it, Providence raised up an instrument to break the yoke of papal oppression, and dissipate those monastic establishments, which were no longer retreats of piety, but nests of

* Polydore Virgil. Lib. XIX. This author, who was a rigid catholic, though he lived to see the reformation, considers the victory of Agincourt gained by Henry V, as the reward of that prince's zeal in punishing Sir John Oldcastle and other *heretics!* Lib. XXII.

wickedness. This was Henry VIII; a man whose character is stained with the blackest crimes, but whose headstrong passions were overruled for introducing the most beneficial events. Eager to be divorced from his queen Catherine, he applied for that purpose to the papal court in 1527; but the pope, overawed by her nephew the emperor Charles V, durst not comply with Henry's wishes; and, acting with consummate duplicity, gave no decided answer, but used every artifice to prolong the negociations, in hope that some favourable turn might extricate him from his difficulties: The king, who had acted as the champion of popery in writing a book against Luther, which gained him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, was loath to break with the holy father; but, after enduring the most mortifying delays and disappointments, his patience could hold out no longer; and, finding himself seconded by his parliament and convocation, he procured a sentence of divorce from Cranmer, his own archbishop, in 1533, without waiting for the pope's decision. In the following year, after some fruitless attempts at reconciliation, the authority of his holiness was finally renounced, and Henry himself constituted *the supreme head, on earth, of the English church;* a title which he had previously assumed.

This memorable revolution, in which the hand of Providence is very discernible, led to the most important results. One of its first consequences was the total overthrow of the English monasteries. Of all classes of Henry's subjects the monks were most

reluctant to acknowledge his supremacy, and to renounce their subjection to the see of Rome, from whence they were wont to look for protection against the attempts of the state, or the encroachments of the clergy. The new head of the church, whose pretensions to infallibility and unlimited power were not inferior to those of his late master, could brook no opposition; and therefore resolved on the abolition of monachism; a resolution which he adopted from other considerations no less powerful, for the wealth of the monks was a tempting prize to a prince whose rapacity and extravagance were equal to his pride. His ministers and parliament, several of whom were the friends of reformation, readily entered into his views; and the clergy, ever jealous of the monks, acquiesced in a spoliation by which they hoped to profit. To pave the way for this bold measure, Henry in his capacity of ecclesiastical head appointed a general visitation of all religious houses, in 1535; and Cromwell, his vicar-general, gave commissions to doctors Leighton, Lee, London, and several others, to visit the monasteries and churches of all descriptions, and report the state of them. The visiters received ample instructions for this service, which they performed with great promptitude and zeal; and the reports which they gave in were more than sufficient for Henry's purpose. In almost every quarter shameful irregularities were detected, and even enormities too shocking for the page of history to record. Perhaps the details were not exaggerated; yet we cannot put

full confidence in documents prepared under the eye of tyranny. The commissioners well knew that to have returned a favourable report would have exposed them to the frowns of their despotic lord, and might even have cost them their lives. If at this very period none durst presume to defend the character and life of an innocent queen, whom her brutal husband had determined to sacrifice, what chance could the monks have of escaping, even though their crimes had been much less flagrant?

Though the odium cast on the monasteries by the reports of the visiters had prepared the way for their suppression, it was deemed prudent not to attack the whole at once, but to begin with the smaller houses, which were represented as the most corrupt. Accordingly, an act of parliament was passed in 1536, giving the king all the monasteries whose annual income did not exceed £200. By this act, all the religious houses comprised in this history were dissolved, except Whitby, Guisborough, Rievaux, and the establishment in Stainton-Dale. The poor nuns, of whom there were so many small convents in our district, suffered most severely. The greater monasteries had their existence prolonged only for a short season; and their downfal was accelerated by the *Pilgrimage of grace*, and other insurrections, which the suppression of the smaller had occasioned. In 1537, Henry had recourse to another visitation, which so alarmed the remaining convents, that they were compelled to surrender one after another on the best terms they

could obtain: and an act passed in 1539 granted to the king the possessions of all that had already surrendered, and of those which were yet to surrender. Rievaux was given up in 1538; Whitby surrendered Dec. 14. 1539, and Guisborough eight days after. The establishments of the knights hospitallers, excepted in former acts, were dissolved by act of parliament in 1540, so that Stainton-Dale was given up in 1541; and, last of all, the hospitals and chantries shared the same fate in 1545.*

This compleat overthrow of the monastic establishments was eminently subservient to the cause of the reformation; yet, on the part of Henry and his servile parliament, it was a work of the grossest injustice and oppression. Had monachism been abolished as unwarranted by the law of God, and injurious to the interests of society; had the estates of the religious been restored to the heirs of the donors, where they could be found; and had the rest of the property, after allowing a suitable maintenance to the monks, nuns, &c. then existing, been devoted to pious and benevolent uses, or to works of public utility; or had the whole of the estates, after making provision for the monks, been devoted to such purposes, the trans-

* Wilk. Concil. III. p. 772, 786, &c. Statutes at Large, II. p. 247, 265, 291, 371. Burton, p. 67, 354, 364, 366. The religious houses suppressed consisted in all of 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals. Their whole annual revenue was reckoned at £161,100; which is greatly below the real income. The sale of plate, jewels, church-ornaments, lead, bells, materials, &c. produced an immense sum. Yet such was the king's extravagance, that after receiving all this wealth, he applied to parliament in 1540 for another subsidy!!! Rapin I. p. 821—827.

action might have been justified; but, in the way in which it was executed, it bears a very different aspect. No provision was made for the accommodation of travellers, hitherto entertained at the religious houses in their way; no relief was assigned to the poor whom the monasteries had supported; nay, numbers even of the religious themselves were left destitute. The portion of the plunder set apart for the support of religion and learning, was extremely trivial; the great mass of it was swallowed up in feeding Henry's extravagance, or gratifying his cringing favourites. It is disgusting to observe the falsehood and base hypocrisy employed in this business by the king and parliament. The act for dissolving the larger monasteries impudently asserts, that the abbots, priors, &c. who had surrendered, did it "of their own free and voluntary minds, good wills and assents, without constraint, coaction or compulsion, of any manner of person or persons;" though it is well known, that such as refused to surrender were arraigned for high treason, and forfeited at once their property and their lives. The act for suppressing the smaller convents deeply laments their "vycyous, carnal, and abominable living," whereby they wasted their property to the "slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the king's highness," who was mightily concerned for "the only glory and honour of God, and the totall extirping and destruction of vyce and sinne;" and then infers, that their possessions hitherto "spoiled and wasted for increase and maintenance of sinne, should be used and converted to

better uses:" pretending at the same time, that the religious in these houses would be "commytted to great and honourable monasteries—where they may be compelled to live religiously, for reformation of their lives." Such language proceeded with a bad grace from a prince whose life was peculiarly "vicious, carnal, and abominable;" especially after he ceased to be managed by the arch-sycophant Wolsey; —a prince, who was the slave of his own passions, a bloody persecutor of the reformed religion, a stern tyrant to his subjects, a monster to his family; whose hands, while they were receiving the plunder of the convents, were reeking with the blood of his queen, the innocent and amiable Anne Boleyn, whom he murdered to make way for the gratification of his ungovernable lust by marrying another;—a prince, whose cruelty spared neither friends nor foes, neither catholics nor protestants; under whom, as under another Tiberius, a word or a look could be construed into treason; and in whose latter days the axe of the executioner never cooled, and the flames of horrid persecution were never extinguished. Nor did such language better become that slavish parliament, who, trembling at the despot's frown and crouching beneath his feet, were the ready ministers of his injustice and his extravagance, his cruelty and his lust.

Such were the agents who broke down that formidable phalanx which supported the papal throne, the destruction of which was essentially necessary to introduce the reformation. Nor is it foreign to the

divine plans to employ such instruments in the service of truth and goodness. It was chiefly by means of the intriguing and ambitious Maurice of Saxony, that the protestant religion was firmly established in Germany: and the avarice, as much as the zeal, of the nobles of Scotland, produced the reformation in that part of Britain. Mysterious Providence! "Surely the *wrath* of man shall praise thee!" The workings of human passion are made to subserve the purposes of mercy!

In surrendering their possessions, the abbots, priors, and other religious bargained for annuities or pensions; and some of them also obtained preferments in the church, or offices in the state. The pensions paid out of the monastic estates were not inconsiderable, so that the full amount of the proceeds did not fall to the crown till after a lapse of several years. What the pensions were immediately after the dissolution is not known; but the pension list for 1553 (1st of Mary) is still extant. Even then, about 14 years after the surrender, the sum payable by the augmentation office, on the account of Whitby only, was no less than £188 5*s*. 4*d*. per annum: viz. £26 to John Hexham, late abbot; £8 to Robert Woods; £6 to Peter Thompson; £5 6*s*. 8*d*. each, to Wm. Nicholson, Thos. Thorpe, Thos. Hewit, and Henry Barker; £5 each, to John Watson, Wm. Newton, Wm. Froste, and Rob. Ledley; £6 13*s*. 4*d*. paid for fees; and £100 5*s*. 4*d*. for pensions granted by the abbey before the dissolution. As Henry De Vall, the last abbot, is not in the list, he must either have

died before that year, or have obtained some lucrative office. The officers and members of the other convents in the district had also pensions; but none of them made such an advantageous bargain as Robert Pursglove, prior of Guisborough, who was made suffragan bishop of Hull, and had an annual pension of £166 13*s.* 4*d.**

* According to Charlton (p. 281, 282), the abbot John Hexham refused to surrender, and therefore the monastery was sequestered, on a charge of being concerned in the late insurrections; upon which the abbot, after a vain attempt to vindicate himself, resigned his office, and the chapter having elected Henry de Vall, the prior, to succeed him, the new abbot got the forfeiture reversed, at the intercession of the prior of Guisborough; which was only to pave the way for his finally surrendering the monastery, on Dec. 14. 1540. On what authority this statement rests I have not found; perhaps it is merely conjectural, and it does not appear to me to have the appearance of probability; for if the monastery had been sequestered, it is very unlikely that the king would restore it, and much more unlikely that a pension of £26 would be given to the refractory abbot: but if John Hexham resigned the abbacy, merely to divest himself of care and trouble, it was natural to assign him a larger pension than the other monks, though that of Henry, his successor, must have been much greater. The date of the resignation (which, being misled by Burton, I have followed in the Note on p. 265) is a year wrong; the true date being Dec 14. 1539. The surrender took place Dec. 14. in the 31st of Henry 8, and as the 30th of Henry 8 ended April 22d, 1539, the remaining months of that year belong to his 31st year. Burton has made the same mistake in regard to Guisborough, dating the surrender of that priory, Dec. 22. 1540; whereas the true date is Dec. 22. 1539. In these corrections I am supported by the papers in the possession of Rob. Chaloner, Esq. M. P. and by a document furnished from the Augmentation Office by John Caley, Esq. whose politeness I gratefully acknowledge; not only in regard to that document, but also in his making a search for the conventual seal of Whitby. This search, I am sorry to add, was ineffectual; as the deed of the surrender of our abbey is not now to be found in the Augmentation Office.

Robert Pursglove, prior of Guisborough, enjoyed his pension for many years; for he lived till May 2d, 1579. Graves's Hist. p. 426. Of the other pensions at Guisborough, Thos. Whitby had £3; Christopher Thompson, £6; three canons, £6 13*s.* 4*d.* each; twelve canons, £5 6*s.* 8*d.* each; old annuities and corrodies, £11 6*s.* 8*d*: making in all (with the prior's pension) £271.—At Rievaux, the abbot had £65; Thos. Jackson, *alias* Richmond, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; three

It is not known what quantity of lead, plate, &c. was found at Whitby abbey, or at Guisborough priory: but at Rievaux there were 516 ounces of plate, 110 fodder of lead, and 5 bells. Part of the lead of Whitby abbey is said to have been used in putting a new roof on St. Mary's church, instead of the ancient slate roof. Tradition reports, that the bells of our abbey, having been shipped for London, sunk with the vessel which carried them, on the outside of Whitby rock, and were never recovered.*

At the sale of the monastic estates, great bargains were obtained by Henry's favourites and other purchasers. In some instances, the lands were not sold immediately on the dissolution, but were let on leases for 21 years, officers being appointed to collect the

monks, £6 each; nine, £5 6*s.* 8*d.* each; four, £5 each; and two, £4 each: making £165 13*s.* 4*d.* in all.—In regard to the nunneries:—The prioress of Handale had £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; two nuns, £1 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and two £1 6*s.* 8*d* each:—the prioress of Basedale had £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Joan Fletcher, the former prioress, £4 6*s.* 8*d*, and four nuns there, 1*l.* each: the prioress of Keldholm had 5*l.*, and John Porter, chaplain (probably *master of the nuns*), 4*l.*: two nuns of Wykeham had 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and seven, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; besides 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of old corrodies: the prioress of Yeddingham had 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Agnes Butterfield, 2*l.* and four other nuns, 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; with 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* paid in corrodies.—All these pensions remained on the list in 1553; several pensioners must have died between the dissolution and that year. Burton, p. 87, 252, &c. We have no account of the Rosedale pensions.

* Burton, p. 364. Charlton, p. 283. I may here observe, that when Henry VIII renounced the pope's authority, he ordered the vestiges of that authority, in all public records, to be cancelled: hence, in the Whitby Register, all the copies of the pope's bulls are crossed out with red ink, yet not so as to render them totally illegible.—I may also take occasion to remark, that the first line of the imperfect inscription in the wall on the north-east of the abbey (see p. 353, Note.) appears to have been, MILES ꝑIC TVMVLATVS, WILLELMVS RIꝯE VOCATVS: Of course it has once been placed over the tomb of some *Sir William*.

rents. The site of Whitby abbey (excepting the buildings which were to be demolished and carried off), and several parcels of the abbey lands adjoining, were let March 2d. 1540 (31 Hen. 8.) to Richard Cholmley, Esq. afterwards Sir Richard Cholmley, for 21 years; but before that lease expired, they were sold, May 30th, 1550 (4 Edw. 6.) to John, earl of Warwick; who sold them, April 18th, 1551, to Sir Edward Yorke; from whom they were purchased by Sir Richard Cholmley, July 2d, 1555. Sir Richard also bought the abbey lands of Sleights, Eskdale-side, Iburn, and Ugglebarnby, March 1, 1546; he purchased about the same time the possessions of the cell of Growmond, which had been previously sold to Edward Wright, Esq. and by him to Mr. Francis Sprigg: and in 1563, Feb. 20th, Sir Richard also bought the abbey lands of Stoupe, Fyling, Normanby, &c.: so that a large proportion of the estates of our abbey became the property of the Cholmley family, to whom the manorial rights of Whitby, Stakesby, Fyling, &c. with the site of the abbey, and other possessions, still belong.*—The manor of Hackness,

* Burton, p. 81. Charlton, p. 291—303. Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley, p. 7. From this last authority I have taken the name of Sir *Edward* Yorke, called by Burton and Charlton Sir *John* Yorke. Charlton dates the lease of Whitby in 1541, instead of 1540; and the grant of Sleights, &c. in 1545, instead of 1546. Sir Richard, according to the lease, paid 49*l.* 8*d.* yearly, for the abbey lands at Whitby, Stakesby, Stoupe, Wragby and Springhill. He bought Sleights, &c. for 333*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*: to be held of the king *in capite*, for the service of the fiftieth part of a knight's fee; paying annually 36*s.* 3*d.*, besides a pension of 13*s.* 4*d.* to Percival Cockerell, the forester of Eskdale woods. The lands of Stoupe, Fyling, &c. were bought for 1120*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* to be held in free and common socage and not *in capite*. They were let for 39*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*—In 1668, Growmond was

after being some time in lease, was given by queen Elizabeth to lord Essex; after which it passed to Arthur Dakins, Esq. whose only daughter Margaret was married to Sir Thos. Posthumus Hoby; from whom it came to Sir John Sydenham: and, in 1696, the latter sold it to John Vanden Bempde, Esq. who left it to his only child, the marchioness of Annandale, mother of the late Sir Rich. Vanden Bempde Johnstone, Baronet. His son, Sir John V. B. Johnstone, a minor, is the heir apparent. Lady M. Johnstone, Sir Richard's widow, was recently married to Wm. Gleadowe, Esq.—The site of Guisborough priory, and the lands in the occupation of the canons at the dissolution, were let Nov. 21st, 1540, to Thos. Leigh, Esq. afterwards Sir Thos. Leigh, for 21 years, at £49 5*s.* 4*d.*; and again let (in reversion) for 30 years, at the same rent, to Thos. Chaloner, Esq. afterwards Sir Thos. Chaloner, July 20th, 1547. The latter purchased these premises, with a great deal more of the priory lands, Oct. 31st, 1550, for the sum of £998 13*s.* 4*d*; and the whole were confirmed to him and his heirs, by the grant of Philip and Mary, July 16th, 1558; to be held of the king *in capite*, for the service of the 40th part of a knight's fee, and the yearly payment of £135 15*s.* 4¼*d.*; besides annuities to the king's officers then on the lands. The estate now belongs to Rob. Chaloner, Esq. M.P. a descendant of Sir Thomas.—The estates of Rievaux sold to Sir John D'oyley, from whom it passed to the Sanders family; the site of the priory, and the lands adjoining, now belong to Mr. Richard Agar of Fryup.

abbey were disposed of so early as 1538, being granted by exchange, to Thomas, earl of Rutland, a descendant of the founder; they passed, by marriage, to the duke of Buckingham, and were sold by the second duke of Buckingham to Sir Chas. Duncombe, ancestor to the present proprietor, Chas. Slingsby Duncombe, Esq. M. P. A beautiful terrace, formed by the late Thos. Duncombe, Esq. on the brink of the hill that overlooks Rievaux, with a temple at each end of the walk, commands an interesting view of the ruins of the abbey, and the adjacent scenery.*

Respecting the ecclesiastical affairs of the district since the dissolution, a few remarks may suffice; for this quarter of the country was not much distinguished, either by its zeal or by its sufferings, amidst the changes and counter-changes which afterwards occurred in the church.

* The estates of Stainton-Dale, with many other monastery-lands, were sold, May 26, 1553, to Wm. Buckton of Ayton, gent. and Roger Marshall of Aislaby, gent. and the Dale was sold by Wm. Buckton, in 1562, to Gregory Allenson, Wm. Hay, John Glover, and George Watson, for £40: in 1627, it passed to other four proprietors; and, in 1657, it was disposed of to other four, as trustees for themselves and for the rest of the freeholders in the Dale.—The site of Handale priory was granted (35 Hen. 8) to Ambrose Beckwith, and now belongs to Mr. Stephenson Thomas.—The site of Basedale, with the adjacent land, was granted (36 Hen. 8) to Ralph Bulmer and John Thyn, to be held of the king *in capite*. It is now the property of James Bradshaw Pierson, Esq.—Rosedale and Keldholm were both granted (30 Hen. 8) to Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, to be held of the king *in capite*. The premises are now shared by various proprietors.—Wykeham was granted, in 1543, to Francis Poole, and by him conveyed to Rich. Hutchinson; whose descendant Rich. Langley, Esq. is the present proprietor.—Yeddingham was given in 1543 (35 Hen. 8) to Robt. Holgate, bishop of Landaff, afterwards archbishop of York.—The grants of the monastic estates were peculiarly valuable, as being accompanied with most of the privileges and immunities, which had been conferred on the convents who possessed them.

The insurrections which took place in or near this district, on the suppression of the monasteries, have already been glanced at.* A commotion of minor importance, on pretence of reforming abuses in religion, arose at Seamer in 1549; when some deluded fanatics, to the number of three thousand, headed by Thomas Dale, parish-clerk of Seamer, one Stevenson of that place, and Wm. Ombler of East-Heslerton, committed some barbarous murders, and other daring outrages; but they were quickly dispersed, and their leaders taken and executed.†

The reformation made small progress under Henry VIII; for this pope of England, was as zealous in defending transubstantiation and other absurdities of popery, as any triple-crowned sovereign of Rome. He persecuted with fire and sword those who presumed to move a step further than himself in the work of reformation, as well as those who refused to follow him; and his abject parliament, acquiescing in his *infallibility*, not only sanctioned under pain of death each successive creed which he promulgated, but ratified beforehand whatever doctrines he might choose to publish!§ Henry retained his popish notions to the end; and, in his last will, he called on the virgin Mary, with all the holy company of heaven, continually to pray for him, he appointed mass to be said for him for ever, and he left money to be distributed among the poor, that they might pray for his soul.‖ Under Edward VI, his amiable but short-lived son, the reform-

* See p. 98. † Hinderwell's Hist. p. 329, 330. § Henry's Hist. B. VI. ch. 2. § 2. ‖ Heylyn's Hist. of the Reform. p. 23.

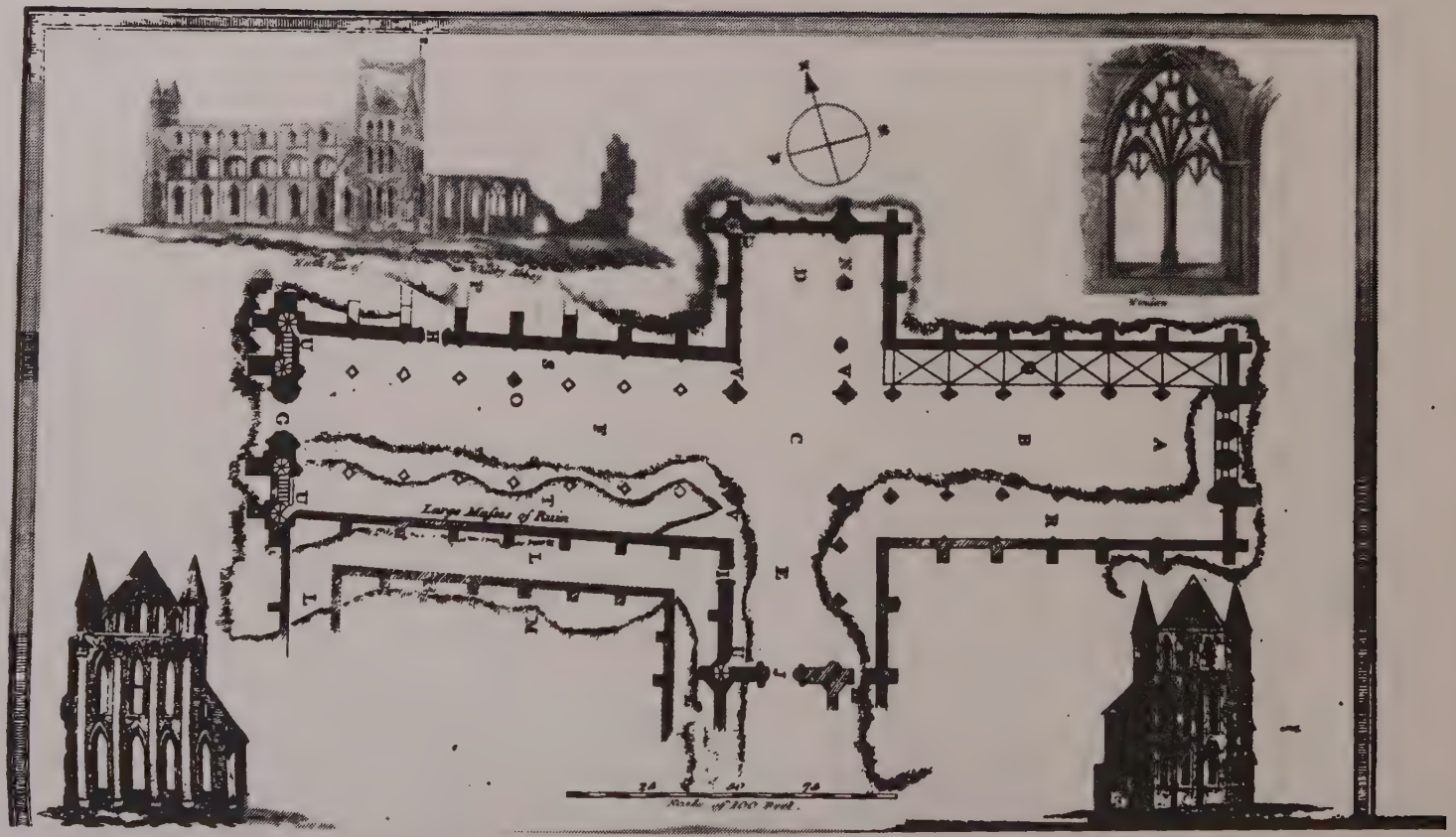
ation advanced with rapid steps: but we have no particular account of its progress in this part of Yorkshire, nor of the effects produced here by the severe check which it received in the reign of the bloody Mary. None of the victims of popish bigotry and intolerance, who suffered under that detested queen, appear to have belonged to this vicinity. Neither is there any record of the changes accomplished here on the restoration of the protestant religion by Elizabeth.

Many good men have regretted, that the reformation of the church established under Edward VI, and restored by Elizabeth, was not carried to a greater length. The shell of the building was suffered to stand, though it was altered, and newly furnished; but perhaps it would have been better to have demolished the whole fabric, and rebuilt it anew, on the model of scripture; without any regard to the forms and additions devised by human fancy, or established merely by tradition.

Among other subjects of regret may be noticed the continuance of that mode of impoverishing churches, which prevailed so much among the monks. As the tithe system was perpetuated, why were not the tithes restored to their original use, the support of religion, and the maintenance of the poor, in the parishes where they are levied? Why were these oblations converted to other uses, and the appropriated churches left in that state of poverty to which the monasteries had reduced them? In no place, perhaps, has this evil been more felt than in our district, where

so often been proved,* and the peaceable conduct of English catholics has so long been witnessed, we may venture to hope, not only that the flames of persecution will never be rekindled in Britain, but that every intolerant law will soon be effaced from the Statute Book.

* During the rebellion in 1715, the dissenters of Newcastle distinguished themselves by their attachment to the house of Hanover. A body of 700 volunteers consisting of churchmen and dissenters united, took up arms to defend the town; and "the keelmen, being mostly dissenters, offered a body of 700 more, to be always ready at half an hour's warning." Tindal's Rapin, IV. p. 445. The same loyalty was displayed by the dissenters during the rebellion in 1745--6; when the seceders at Stirling particularly signalized themselves by their zeal and their bravery. See Gentleman's Magazine for 1746. p. 69.


Large Masses of Ruin
Scale of 100 Feet.

THE

ICHNOGRAPHY

OF

WHITBY ABBEY,

WITH AN

HISTORICAL, AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

OF THAT

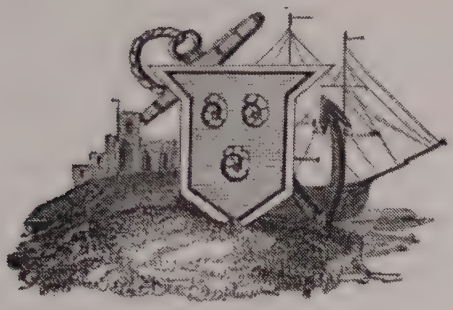
Ancient Structure;

ILLUSTRATED WITH

FOUR SMALL VIEWS,

SHEWING SOME OF ITS MOST INTERESTING FEATURES.

BY H. W. BENSON.



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1828.

1. Whitby abbey....

GD

~~AD~~

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

A. The Chapel of our Lady—a most essential part of the service of the Catholic church, which was most generally placed behind the high altar. I have assigned its site to extend from the east end to the second pillar of the choir.

B. The Service Choir, where high mass and the other principal ceremonies were performed. The service choir has most probably extended from the high altar to the eastern arch of the tower.

C. The Lantern or Steeple, which is supported on four magnificent arches, springing from the like number of clustered pillars: the keystone of each arch is at an elevation of sixty feet.

D. The North Transept.

E. The South Transept; the pillars of which alone remain. This transept is supposed to have been of the same extent as the north transept, which fact cannot, at present, be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

F. The Nave. Here I have shewn how the nave deviates from the line of the choir, which deviation is eight feet four inches.

G. The West or principal Entrance, to which there was an ascent by a flight of steps, part of which were remaining a few years ago.

H. A Doorway in the North Wall of the Nave, which was either an entrance from the north, or led into a porch or building connected with the Monastery.

I. The Entrance from the Cloisters. This entrance is shewn in all views of the Abbey, taken previous to the fall of this part of the building.

K. The Entrance to the Chapter-House, according to Francis Gibson, Esq., F.A.S.

L. The Cloisters.

M. The Area of the Cloisters.

N. The Pillar in the North Transept, on which there is an inscription, noticed in Young's History of Whitby, vol. I. p. 341, and note, p. 342.

O. Smelt's Pillar, on which there is the following inscription:

L. SMELT, ARM.
ERexit.
A. D.
1790.

P. The supposed Situation of the Chapter-House.

Q. The North Aisle of the Choir. Here I have shewn the groining of the roof, a great part of which is still remaining.

R. The South Aisle of the Choir.

S. The North Aisle of the Nave. This aisle is very irregular in its breadth; towards the west end, its breadth is 13 ft. 10 in. opposite Smelt's pillar, 13 ft. 6 in., and near the north transept, 13 ft. 1 in.

T. The South Aisle of the Nave. Where this aisle stood, are large masses of stone, partly covered with soil and moss.

U. The Staircases, which have led to the different passages or galleries extending round the church.

V. The great Pillars which support the Tower.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF
WHITBY ABBEY.

THE remains of the *abbey church* of St. Peter and St. Hilda, now generally denominated Whitby Abbey, are situated on the summit of a hill or cliff, near the mouth of the river Esk, a little to the south of the place where ancient Streonshall is supposed to have stood, and east of the town of Whitby; to which place, by reason of their great elevation of site, these noble ruins give an air of sombre antiquity not otherwise appertaining to it, and form the most conspicuous feature in its vicinity.

Though the situation appears bleak and inhospitable for the site of a Monastery, its effects have been partially obviated by the erection of the buildings on a natural declivity to the south of the church, which would screen them from the inclement northern blasts which prevail in this quarter during great part of our winter months.

The Abbey of Streonshall was begun in the year 658, under the direction of the famous St. Hilda, who personally superintended its progress.

St. Hilda * died on the 17th of November, 680, aged 66 years, when the government of the Monastery devolved on Ælfleda, who died in 713. For the space of a century and a half after the death of Ælfleda, no account of the Monastery exists. The Abbey continued to exist until the year 867, when, with the town of Streonshall, it was destroyed by the Danes, who either dispersed or massacred its defenceless inhabitants.

The Abbey lay in ruins until a little after the conquest by William the Conqueror, who gave a large tract of land in this country, to Hugh, the first Earl of Chester, and the latter granted most of it to Wm. de Percy, ancestor to the Earls of Northumberland, who soon began to rebuild the Monastery, and restored the Priory, dedicating it anew to God, to St. Peter, and St. Hilda, under the government of Reinfrid, with the title of Prior; and granted to it the town and lordship of Whitby, with a great tract of land in the neighbourhood. This building remained a Priory until the reign of Henry I., when it was advanced to an Abbey.

The Abbey of Streonshall, which, after its restoration, was named Whitby Abbey, in succeeding years obtained great possessions: its property in land was extensive, and its revenue immense.

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* For a more particular account of St. Hilda, the reader is referred to Charlton's History of Whitby, pp. 17, 20, and 37. Young's Ditto, pp. 129---214. Also to Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. III. Nov. 17, p. 89.

There is a portrait of her in the fifth partition of the south division in the great window, York Minster, where she is represented in a studious posture, with a crosier in her hand, of which Mr. Gent, in his History, has given an engraving, under which he has placed the following couplet:

St. Hilda learn'd like Huldah *---seems a gem,
Lights both to Streonshall---and Jerusalem.

* 2 Kings xxii. 14.

It flourished until the reign of Henry VIII., when, like other Monasteries, it was surrendered by Henry de Val, the last Abbot, with its dependencies, to the King. After the dissolution, this Monastery was deserted and left by relentless fate to fall to utter ruin, while its downfal was hastened by the appropriation of a great part of the building to other purposes, so that this structure, once the pride of the whole neighbourhood, is now but a shadow of what it was, though enough remains to enable us to form an idea of its ancient splendour. *

LIST OF THOSE WHO PRESIDED OVER THE MONASTERY AT WHITBY.

Names.	*Died.*
PRIORS.	
Reinfrid	unknown.
Serlo de Percy	1100
ABBOTS.	
William de Percy, nephew to the above	unknown.
Nicholas	ditto.
Benedict, discharged	1148
Richard	1175
Richard	unknown.
Peter	1211
An interregnum of three years.	
John de Evesham, held till	1222
Roger de Scarbro'	1244
John de Steyngreve	1258
William de Brinston	1265
Robert Langtoft, the first Abbot summoned to Parliament	1278
William de Kirkham	1304
Thomas de Malton, resigned	1328
Thomas de Hawksgarth, resigned	1352
William de Burton	1374
John de Richmond	1393
Peter de Hertilpole	1394
Thomas de Bolton	1413
John de Skelton	1437
Dr. Hugh Elerton	1462
Thomas Pickering	1475
William Colson	1490
John Lovel	1501
William de Evesham	1505
John Benesede	1514
Thomas Bydnell	1516
John Whitby	1517
Thomas York	1527
John Topcliffe, alias Hexham, resigned	1538
Henry de Val, who surrendered the Monastery, December 14,	1540

The Abbey Church was in the form of a cross (*see plate*) and consisted of a nave, choir, (with their respective aisles,) and a transept which had aisles on the east side only. At the intersection of the transept was the massy lantern steeple.

It has been built at different periods, as evinced by the difference of the ornaments used in the decoration. The oldest part of the choir was probably built about the year 1150, and the latest portion, the west end with part of the nave, appears to have been constructed towards the end of the fourteenth century; therefore, near 200 years elapsed from the erection of the oldest part to that of the most recent. The east end (*see plate*) consists of three ranges of lancet-formed windows, beautifully bordered with the toothed ornaments that are so justly admired; the columns that run up between the windows are finely ornamented at the top, with canopies which are feathered. The middle window of the second series has been divided into two lights by a slender mullion, and an embattled transom has crossed the centre of it. The main buttresses of the east end are surmounted by short octangular turrets, topped by spires. The choir has been lighted by six narrow lancet windows in each aisle, round which, and along the cornice is an elegant diamond worked border; between each of these windows has been a buttress, which has risen rather better than two-thirds of the

* After the dissolution, the site of Whitby Abbey was granted to Richard Cholmley, Esq., of Kinthorpe, near Pickering, in the possession of whose family it yet continues.

wall of the aisle. The north aisle, with its buttresses, is almost entire. The body of the choir has been lighted by seven short circular-headed plain windows, and this story, on the outside, is wholly devoid of ornament. The roof has risen up the ridges which are observable on the body of the tower. Sharp ridged roofs are most to be found in ecclesiastical buildings, constructed anterior to the latter end of the fourteenth century, and constitute one of the chief marks by which their date is ascertained. The north transept, (*see plate*,) which is the most perfect part that is left of the Abbey, is of a later date, and the ornaments are very rich and judiciously arranged. It consists of three ranges of windows, along the borders of which are rosettes; between these windows run triple columns, surmounted by plain buttresses, which support the upper story of the transept; above these windows is an elegant, well proportioned, Catherine-wheel window, which is deservedly admired. The main buttresses of this transept are octangular, the one at the N. W. angle has been decorated with open canopy work, and in its perfect state must have been a fine specimen of masonry. The aisle on the east side of the transept has windows similar to those in the choir, but more decorated. The west wall has been lighted by three series of windows, two together, and must have had a fine effect. The most ancient part of the nave that now remains, consists of three plain lancet windows, similar to those in the choir, next to which are the fine proportioned windows of a later era which cannot be too much admired.—I have given a representation of one of them in the plate. Next to these is a doorway, which most probably was the north entrance, or communicated with some building connected with the Monastery. Between this doorway and the west end were two windows similar to those just mentioned. The west end, which has, indeed, been a fine specimen of architecture, was formed of a broad doorway between two massy buttresses, studded with crotchetted niches, and surmounted by elegant tapering spires. The doorway consisted of receding clustered columns, the capitals of which were formed of wreaths of flowers; it has been divided into two by a column, with a pannelled quatrefoil over the intersection. Immediately over the west entrance was the great window, which was deservedly the pride of the Monastery; this window was divided into four portions by three upright mullions, which have diverged into divers forms of ramified tracery: a transom has crossed the centre of this window, forming two divisions. At the end of the aisles, on each side of the west end there has been a small well proportioned window of elegant tracery, above which there was a light of the diamond form, in which quatrefoils are inserted.

The cloisters and the other buildings connected with this Monastery have been on the declivity, on the south side of the Abbey Church, and no doubt were of a style suitable to the purpose for which they were designed, though there are not any records in existence relating to them; and their ruins have been so effectually cleared, that we are unable to ascertain their situation, unless recourse be had to digging the foundation, which would, indeed be a work of labour and expense.

THE INTERIOR.

The choir is made in seven divisions, and the height is in three stories. The clusters of columns for the division rise no higher than the springing of the arches for the aisles; above which is the gallery or second story; each division of which consisted of four openings, shewing columns and arches, with quatrefoils or trefoils above the intersections. The upper story consists of five lancet formed arches in each division, the two outer ones, on either side, are dead arches, and present a series of niches which cannot be too much admired. The middle arch, which is larger than the rest, forms an opening for one of the upper windows of the choir. There is a gallery in this story which, like the others, has extended round the church.

Standing within the great centre tower, the view is magnificent, the arches of the choir appear in beautiful perspective, while the antiquary will never tire of viewing the east end; which appears to such advantage when viewed from this point, and seems to form an excellent termination to the arcade of the choir.

The four great arches of the tower rise the whole height of the upright of the choir; and over them is the first story of the tower, round which runs a gallery, lighted from without by four massy plain windows, divided into two lights by mullions, with quatrefoils above the intersections; and from within by windows of the same size, but without quatrefoils. The upper story of the tower consists of a range of three windows on each side, some of which are pierced; the middle is divided into three portions by stone mullions, and the outer ones into two, having trefoils above the intersection. One of the windows in this story, on the south side, consists of a triple arch within a gothic arch, similar to those in the body of the Temple Church, London. I have not been able to discover another like it in the building. The interior of the north transept consists of three divisions, and three stories; the pillars and the dadoes or galleries are similar to those in the choir. This transept, together with the south transept, had only one side aisle, which was on the east side (*see plate*). Along the bottom of the wall of the north transept, underneath the lower tier of windows, is a fine range of niches, which, when viewed from underneath the tower, have a magnificent effect. The interior masonry of the windows in the western wall of this transept is particularly admired. The capitals of the clustered columns of which they are formed, consist of wreaths of flowers or leaves, and there are rosettes all along the borders of them. The nave, of which there is little left, has diverged from a straight line, the cause of which is not known. From this part, the interior of the west end has a fine appearance, the space on each side of the west entrance being occupied by a pannelled window, with quatrefoils of elegant tracery, while the window which forms the termination to the north aisle of the nave, appears in an arched recess, and reminds the observer of its resemblance to the magnificent west front of Peterborough cathedral.

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